RAYMUND LULL
FIRST MISSIONARY TO THE MOSLEMS

By Samuel M. Zwemer

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STATUE OF RAYMUND LULL AT PALMA, MAJORCA.

RAYMUND LULL

First Missionary to the Moslems

By

SAMUEL M. ZWEMER, D.D., F. R. G. S.

AUTHOR OF

"Arabia, The Cradle of Islam," "Topsy-Turvy Land," etc.

FUNK & WAGNALLS COMPANY

New York and London

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Registered at Stationers' Hall, London, England

[*Printed in the United States of America*]
Published November, 1902

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INTRODUCTION

It would be difficult to find another so competent as Dr. Zwemer to write a life of the first great missionary to the Mohammedans. For twelve years he has been working with his associates of the Arabian Mission of the Reformed Church on the eastern coast of the Arabian peninsula and in the Turkish region northwest of the Persian Gulf. To an almost perfect command of Arabic, an accurate knowledge of the Koran, untiring zeal and indomitable courage, he has added an absorbing love for the Mohammedans, and a desire to make known to them in truth that Savior whom in their belief their prophet annuls and supersedes.

As I passed down the Persian Gulf in the spring of 1897, the captains of the steamers, without qualification, spoke out in praise of the "lion-hearted" missionary, as they called him, who would sit on the hatches with the Arab travelers and confound them out of their own scriptures. In the interval of itinerating journeys into the interior of El Hasa and Oman Dr. Zwemer has found time to produce a volume on Arabia (published in 1900), which is the standard authority on the peninsula, and one of the best books available on the questions of interest to all Christians springing from the rise and extension of Islam. Loving the Mohammedans and knowing their religion thoroughly, and working constantly for an enlargement of the missionary force attempting the evangelization of the Moslem world, Dr. Zwemer has qualifications for understanding the life of Raymund Lull, and for

describing it sympathetically, which few possess in the same measure.

And there has been great need that an adequate life of Raymund Lull should be written for English readers of this modern day. He was the greatest missionary who has ever gone out to the Moslem world. He was one of the outstanding figures of the Catholic Church in the thirteenth century. He was a Christian of the modern spirit of Catholicity—neither Roman nor Protestant—a man of spiritual judgment, of divine love. He saw the futility of authority in matters of religion at the time that other men were busy with the most devilish expression of belief in authority ever conceived—the Inquisition. He loved Christ with a passionate love, and saw that the only true missionary method was the method of love. To leave his life in obscurity would involve an incalculable loss to the Church of our time. We need to

revive the memory of it, to relearn its secrets, and to confirm the highest Christian tendencies of our day by the recollection of their noble illustration in the life of Lull. Of all the men of his century of whom we know, Raymund Lull was most possessed by the love and life of Christ, and most eager, accordingly, to share his possession with the world. The world sadly needed it; the Church scarcely less. It sets forth the greatness of Lull's character the more strikingly to see how sharply he rose above the world and Church of his day, anticipating by many centuries moral standards, intellectual conceptions, and missionary ambitions, to which we have grown only slowly since the Reformation.

The movement of our thought, theological and philosophical, is now strongly toward biological conceptions. It is a gain that it should be so. We see that life is the supreme thing, and that we must state

our notions in its terms. The missionary work will gain greatly by this new mode of thinking. Its purpose is to give life. Its method is to do by the contact of life. Raymund Lull proved this. He went out to give a divine life which he already possessed in his own soul. Somerville, in "St. Paul's Conception of Christ," points out that it was "in the consciousness of what the glorified Christ was to Paul in his personal life that we are to look for the genesis of his theology." It was in his inner experience of the glorified Christ that we are to look for the secret and source of Raymund Lull's doctrine and life: what he thought, what he was, what he suffered. And this must be true of all true missionaries. They do not go out to Asia and Africa to say, "This is the doctrine of the Christian Church," or "Your science is bad. Look through this microscope and see for yourselves and abandon such error,"

aration, their visions, their untiring toil, their passion for Christ, their sufferings and shipwrecks, their intellectual activity and power, their martyrdoms, the rule of Christ supreme thus in death, supreme also in life, its thought, its purpose, its taste, its use, its friends, its sacrifice. But the essence of all such comparison—the real essence of all true missionary character—is the possession by the life of Christ as life, and the ability thus to give, not a new doctrine only, not a new truth to men, but a new life. The work of missions is just this: the going out from the Church over the world of a body of men and women knowing Christ, and, therefore, having life in themselves; their quiet residence among the dead peoples; and the resurrection from among these peoples of first one, then a few, then more and more, who feel the life and receive it and live.

Lull sought in every way to fit himself

for contact with men so that he might reach them in the deepest intimacies of their life, and be able thus to plant the seed of the divine life which he bore. Therefore he learned Arabic, became a master of the Moslem philosophy, studied geography and the heart of man. And, therefore, he became also a student of comparative religion, as we would call him today. There was a great difference between his view, however, and that of a large school of modern students of comparative religion. Lull had no idea that Christianity was not a complete and sufficient religion. He did not study other religions with the purpose of providing from them ideals which Christianity was supposed to lack. Nor did he propose to reduce out of all religions a common fund of general principles more or less to be found in all and regard these as the ultimate religion. He studied other religions to find out how bet-

ter to reach the hearts of their adherents with the Gospel, itself perfect and complete, lacking nothing, needing nothing from any other doctrine. With him there was a difference between Christianity and other religions, not in degree only, but in kind. It possesses what they lack, which is desirable. It lacks what they possess, which is unworthy. It alone satisfies. It alone is life. They are systems of society or politics, religions of books, methods, organizations. It and it alone is life, eternal life. Lull studied other religions, not to discover what they have to give to Christianity, for they have nothing, but to find how he might give to those who follow them the true life, which is life, and which no man shall ever find until he finds it in Christ.

Blessed as the influence of Lull should be upon the Christian life and experience of all who feel it in reading this sketch, it

will fall short of its full purpose if they are not led to desire to make amends for the neglect of the centuries. It is six centuries since Lull fell at Bugia. Is that martyrdom never to have its fruitage? Shall we not now at last wake from the sleep of the generations and give the Savior His place above the Prophet, and the crescent its place beneath the cross?

ROBERT E. SPEER.

To the Reader

"Who faulteth not, liueth not; who mendeth faults is commended: The Printer hath faulted a little: it may be the author over-sighted more. Thy paine (Reader) is the least; then erre not thou most by misconstruing or sharpe censuring; least thou be more oncharitable, then either of them hath been heedlesse: God amend and guide vs all."

—Robartes on Tythes, Camb. 1613.

PREFACE

THE subject of this biography is acknowledged by all writers on the history of missions to be the one connecting link between the apostles of Northern Europe and the leaders who followed the Reformation. Eugene Stock, the editorial secretary of the Church Missionary Society, declares "there is no more heroic figure in the history of Christendom than that of Raymund Lull, the first and perhaps the greatest missionary to Mohammedans."

No complete biography of Lull exists in the English language; and since the twentieth century is to be preeminently a century of missions to Moslems, we should

rescue the memory of the pioneer from oblivion.

His philosophical speculations and his many books have vanished away, for he knew only in part. But his self-sacrificing love never faileth and its memory can not perish. His biography emphasizes his own motto:

"*He who lives by the Life can not die.*"

It is this part of Lull's life that has a message for us to-day, and calls us to win back the Mohammedan world to Christ.

SAMUEL M. ZWEMER.

BAHREIN, ARABIA, March, 1902.

Biography of Raymund Lull

CHAPTER I

EUROPE AND THE SARACENS IN THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY

(A.D. 1200–1300)

"Altho the history of an age is going on all at once, it can not be written all at once. Missionaries are proceeding on their errands of love, theologians are constructing their systems, persecutors are slaying the believers, prelates are seeking the supremacy, kings are checking the advance of the churchman—all this and an infinitude of detail is going on in the very same period of time."—*Shedd's "History of Doctrine."*

We can not understand a man unless we know his environment. Biography is a thread, but history is a web in which time is broad as well as long. To unravel the

thread without breaking it we must loosen the web. To understand Raymund Lull, we must put ourselves back seven hundred years and see Europe and the Saracens as they were before the dawn of the Renaissance and the daybreak of the Reformation. Altho the shadow of the dark ages still fell heavily upon it, the thirteenth century was an eventful epoch, at least for Europe. The colossal power of the empire was waning, and separate states were springing up in Italy and Germany. The growth of civil liberty, altho only in its infancy, was already bringing fruit in the enlargement of ideas and the founding of universities. In England, Norman and Saxon were at last one people; the Magna Charta was signed, and the first Parliament summoned. About the time when Lull was born, the Tatars invaded Russia and sacked Moscow; Saracens and Christians were disputing not only the possession of the Holy Land, but the

rulership of the world. Altho in the East the long struggle for the Holy City had ended in the discomfiture of the Christians, the spirit of the Crusades lived on. The same century that saw the fall of Acre also witnessed the fall of Bagdad and the extinction of the califate. In Spain, Ferdinand of Castile was winning city after city from the Moors, who were entrenching their last stronghold, Granada. The year 1240 marks the rise of the Ottoman Turks; Lull was then five years old. Before he was twenty, Louis IX. had failed in his crusade and been taken prisoner by the Sultan of Egypt; emperors had deposed popes and popes emperors; and the Inquisition had begun in Spain to torture Jews and heretics. At Cologne the foundations of the great cathedral were being laid, and at Paris men were experimenting with the new giant, gunpowder.

All Europe was heated with the strong

wine of political change and social expectations. In the same century sudden and subversive revolutions were taking place in Asia. The Mongolian hordes under Genghis Khan poured out, like long-pent waters, over all the countries of the East. The califate of Bagdad fell forever before the furious onslaught of Hulaku Khan. The Seljuk empire soon advanced its Moslem rule into the mountain ranges of Anatolia, and Turks were disputing with Mongols the sovereignty of "the roof of the world."

The beneficial effects of the Crusades were already being felt in the breaking up of those two colossal fabrics of the Middle Ages, the Church and the Empire, which ruled both as ideas and as realities. The feudal system was disappearing. The invention and application of paper, the mariner's compass, and gunpowder heralded the eras of printing, exploration, and conquest in the century that followed. It was

not dark as midnight, altho not yet dawn. The cocks were crowing. In 1249 the University of Oxford was founded. In 1265 Dante was born at Florence. The pursuit of truth by philosophers was still a game of wordy dialectics, but Thomas Aquinas and Bonaventura and Albertus Magnus left a legacy of thought as well. The two former died the same year that Raymund Lull wrote his "Ars Demonstrava." It was in the thirteenth century that physical science struggled into feeble life in the cells of Gerbert and Roger Bacon. But these men were accounted magicians by the vulgar and heretics by the clergy, and were rewarded with the dungeon. Marco Polo the Venetian, the most famous of all travelers, belongs to the thirteenth century, and did for Asia what Columbus did for America. His work was a link in the providential chain which at last dragged the New World to light. But both Marco Polo and Roger

Bacon lived ahead of their age. Gibbon says with truth that, "If the ninth and tenth centuries were the times of darkness, the thirteenth and fourteenth were the age of absurdity and fable." Thought was still in terror through dread of the doom declared on heretics and rebels.

The maps of the thirteenth century show no appreciation of Marco Polo's discoveries. The world as Raymund Lull knew it was the world of medieval legend and classic lore. The earth's surface was represented as a circular disk surrounded by the ocean. The central point was the Holy Land or Jerusalem, according to the prophecy of Ezekiel. Paradise occupied the extreme east and Gog and Magog were on the north. The pillars of Hercules marked the boundary of farthest west, and the nomenclature of even Southern Europe was loose and scanty. It is interesting to note that the first great improvement of these

E
N.
S.
W.
Mare Caspi
Persicus sinus
Media
Arabica deserta
Arabia
Persidis
Eudemon
Mons Sina
Egiptus Superior
Nilus
Babylonia
Amanite
Caldea
Mesopotamia
Iberia
Moabite
Mons Iasse
Ruben
Philistei
Commagena
Mons Galaad
Gad
Cesarea Philippi
Iturea
Trib. Dan
Ephraim
Trib. Manasse
Galilee
Asser
Tyron
Hierusalem
Mons Oliveti
Mons Sion
Neptalim
Iudea
Mare Mortuum
Cilicia
Tharsis
Cesarea
Asia Minor
Ephesus
Troas
Mons Olimpi
Mons Taurus
Mons Libani
Sidon
Tyrus
Acon
Cedar
Arabes
Mons Seyr
Idumea
Mons Ermon
Mons Syon
Mons Effraim
Mons Sarra
Mons Carmel
Mons Thabor
Mons Gelboe
Mons Hermon
Mons Libanus
Mons Tenas
Mons Tenas
Mons Rubeus
Mons Rubeus
Mons Rubeus

maps took place in Catalonia, the province of Spain where Lull's ancestors lived. The remarkable Catalan map of 1375 in the Paris Library is the first world-map that throws aside all pseudo-theological theories and incorporates India and China as part of the world. Nearly all the maps of the Middle Ages are inferior to those in our illustration. Clever artists concealed their ignorance and gave life to the disk of the world by pictures of turreted towns, walled cities, and roaring lions in imaginary forests. Swift has satirized their modern descendants as—

> "Geographers who in Afric's maps
> With savage pictures fill their gaps;
> And o'er unhabitable downs
> Place elephants for want of towns."

Regarding the general attitude of the masses toward intellectual progress, a writer* justly remarks: "There were by no

*J. A. Symonds: "The Renaissance," Encyc. Brit., xx., 383.

means lacking elements of native vigor ready to burst forth. But the courage that is born of knowledge, the calm strength begotten by a positive attitude of mind, face to face with the dominant overshadowing sphinx of theology, were lacking. We may fairly say that natural and untaught people had more of the just intuition that was needed than learned folk trained in the schools. Man and the actual universe kept on reasserting their rights and claims in one way or another; but they were always being thrust back again into Cimmerian regions of abstractions, fictions, visions, spectral hopes and fears, in the midst of which the intellect somnambulistically moved upon an unknown way."

The morality of the Middle Ages presents startling contrasts. Over against each other, and not only in the same land but often in the same individual, we witness sublime faith and degrading superstition,

angelic purity and signs of gross sensuality. It was an age of self-denying charity to suffering Christians, and of barbarous cruelty to infidels, Jews, and heretics. The wealthy paid immense sums to redeem Christian slaves captured by the Saracens; and the Church took immense sums to persecute those who erred from the faith. When the Crusaders under Godfrey of Bouillon (who refused to wear a crown of gold where his Savior had worn a crown of thorns) came in sight of Jerusalem, they kissed the earth and advanced on their knees in penitential prayer; but after the capture of the city they massacred seventy thousand Moslems, burned the Jews in their synagogs, and waded in blood to the Holy Sepulcher to offer up thanks! The general state of morals even among popes and the clergy was low. Gregory VII. and Innocent III. were great popes and mighty reformers of a corrupt priesthood, but they were excep-

tions in the long list. One of the popes was deposed on charges of incest, perjury, murder, and blasphemy. Many were in power through simony. Concubinage and unnatural vices were rife in Rome among the clergy. Innocent IV., who became pope the very year Lull was born, was an outrageous tyrant. Nicholas III. and Martin IV., who were popes toward the close of the thirteenth century, rivaled each other in infamy. The pontificate of the former was so marked by rapacity and nepotism that he was consigned by Dante to his Inferno. The latter was the murderous instigator of the terrible "Sicilian Vespers."

Martensen says that "the ethics of this period often exhibit a mixture of the morals of Christianity with those of Aristotle." And this is natural if we remember that Thomas Aquinas represents the height of medieval morals as well as of dogmatics. Sins were divided into carnal and spiritual,

venial and mortal. The way to perfection was through the monastic vows of poverty, celibacy, and obedience.

The poetry of the period reflects the same startling contrast between piety and sensuality, composed as it was of the tenderest hymns of devotion and bacchanalian revels. The seven great hymns of the medieval Church have challenged and defied the skill of the best translators and imitators. The wonderful pathos of the "Stabat Mater Dolorosa" and the terrible power of "Dies Iræ" appear even in their poorest translations. In spite of its objectionable doctrinal features, what Protestant can read Dr. Cole's admirable translation of the "Stabat Mater" without being deeply affected?

Yet the same age had its "Carmina Burana," written by Goliardi and others, in which Venus and Bacchus go hand-in-hand and the sensual element predominates.

"We do not need to be reminded that Beatrice's adorer had a wife and children, or that Laura's poet owned a son and daughter by a concubine." Nor were Dante and Petrarch exceptions among mediæval poets in this respect. It was a dark world.

The thirteenth century was also an age of superstition, an age of ghosts and visions and miracles and fanaticism. The "Flagellants" wandered from city to city calling on the people to repent. Girded with ropes, in scant clothing or entirely naked, they scourged themselves in the open streets. The sect spread like contagion from Italy to Poland, propagating extravagant doctrines and often causing sedition and murder. Catherine of Sienna and Francis of Assisi in the fervor of their love saw visions. The latter bore the *stigmata* and died of the wounds of Christ, which are said to have impressed themselves on

his hands and side through an imagination drunk with the contemplation and love of the crucified Redeemer. The author of the two most beautiful hymns of the medieval period went to fanatical extremes in self-sought torture to atone for his own sins and for the good of others. Peter Nolasco in 1228 saw a vision of the Virgin Mary, and devoted all his property from that day to the purchasing of freedom for Christian captives from their Moorish masters. He founded the order of the Mercedarians, whose members even gave themselves into slavery to save a fellow Christian from becoming an apostate to Islam. During the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the monastic orders increased in numbers and influence. They formed the standing army of the papacy and were generally promoters of learning, science, and art. The Franciscans were one of the strongest orders, altho one of the latest.

In 1264 this order had eight thousand cloisters and two hundred thousand monks. Some of these monks were saints, some scientists, and some sensualists; alongside of unmeasured superstition and ignorance in the mass of the priesthood we meet with genius of intellect and wonderful displays of self-forgetting love in the few.

Yet the most sacred solemnities were parodied. On "Fools' Festival," which was held in France on New Year's day, mock popes, bishops, and abbots were introduced and all their holy actions mimicked in a blasphemous manner.

Practical mysticism, which concerned itself not with philosophy but with personal salvation, was common in the thirteenth century, especially among the women of the Rhine provinces. St. Hildegard, Mechthild, and Gertrude the Great are striking examples. There were also attempts at a reformation of the Church and

the abuses of the clergy. The Albigenses and the Waldenses were in many ways forerunners of Protestantism. Numerous other sects less pure in doctrine and morals arose at this time and spread everywhere from Eastern Spain to Northern Germany. All of them were agreed in opposing ecclesiastical authority, and often that of the state.

Such was the political, intellectual, moral, and religious condition of Europe in the days of Raymund Lull.

The Mohammedan world was also in a state of ferment. The Crusades taught the Saracen at once the strength and the weakness of medieval Christianity. The battle-field of Tolosa, strewed with two hundred thousand slain Moslems, was the death-knell of Islam in Spain. Saracen rule and culture at Granada were only the after-glow of a sunset, glorious but transient. What dominions the Saracens lost in the west they regained in Syria and the

East. In 1250 the Mameluke sultans began to reign in Egypt, and under Beybars I. Moslem Egypt reached the zenith of its fame. Islam was a power in the thirteenth century not so much by its conquests with the sword as by its conquests with the pen. Moslem philosophy, as interpreted by Alkindi, Alfarabi, Avicenna, and Algazel, but most of all the philosophy of Averroes, was taught in all the universities. Aristotle spoke Arabic before he was retranslated into the languages of Europe. "The Saracens," says Myers, "were during the Middle Ages almost the sole repositories of the scientific knowledge of the world. While the Western nations were too ignorant to know the value of the treasures of antiquity, the Saracens preserved them by translating into Arabic the scientific works of the Greeks." Part of this learning came to Europe through the Crusaders, but it came earlier and more largely

through the Arabian schools of Spain. No other country in Europe was in such close touch with Islam for good and ill as the kingdoms of Castile, Navarre, and Aragon in the north of what we now call Spain. There the conflict was one of mind as well as of the sword. There for three centuries waged a crusade for truth as well as a conflict on the battle-field between Christian and Moslem. In this conflict Raymund Lull's ancestors played their part. During all the years of Lull's life the Moslem power held out at Granada against the united Spanish kingdoms. Not until 1492 was the Saracen expelled from Southern Europe.

Regarding missions in the thirteenth century, little can be said. There were a few choice souls whom the Spirit of God enlightened to see the spiritual needs of the Saracen and Mongol and to preach to them the Gospel. In 1256 William de Rubruquis was sent by Louis IX., partly as a

diplomat, partly as a missionary, to the Great Khan. In 1219 Francis of Assisi with mad courage went into the Sultan's presence at Damietta and proclaimed the way of salvation, offering to undergo the ordeal of fire to prove the truth of the Gospel. The Dominican general Raimund de Pennaforti, who died in 1273, also devoted himself to missions for the Saracens, but with no success.

The only missionary spirit of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries was that of the Crusaders. They took up the sword and perished by the sword. But "Raymund Lull was raised up as if to prove in one startling case, to which the eyes of all Christendom were turned for many a day, what the Crusades might have become and might have done for the world, had they been fought for the cross with the weapons of Him whose last words from it were forgiveness and peace."*

* George Smith: "A Short History of Missions."

CHAPTER II

RAYMUND LULL'S BIRTHPLACE AND EARLY LIFE

(A.D. 1235–1265)

"I think that I better understand the proud, hardy, frugal Spaniard and his manly defiance of hardships since I have seen the country he inhabits. . . . The country, the habits, the very looks of the people, have something of the Arabian character."—*Washington Irving's "The Alhambra."*

RAYMUND LULL was born of an illustrious family at Palma in the island of Majorca of the Balearic group in 1235.* His father had been born at Barcelona and belonged to a distinguished Catalonian family. When the island of Majorca was taken from the Saracens by James I., king of

* Some authorities give the date 1234, and one 1236, but most agree on the year 1235. See Baring-Gould: "Lives of the Saints," vol. vi., p. 489.

Aragon, Lull's father served in the army of conquest. For his distinguished services he was rewarded with a gift of land in the conquered territory, and the estates grew in value under the new government.

Southern Europe between the Atlantic and the Adriatic is almost a duplicate in climate and scenery of Northern Africa. When the Moors crossed over into Spain and occupied the islands of the Western Mediterranean they felt at home. Not only in the names of rivers and mountains and on the architecture of Spain did they leave the impress of their conquest, but on the manners of the people, their literature, and their social life.

Catalonia, the eastern province of Spain, which was the home of Lull's ancestors and for a time of Lull himself, is about one hundred and thirty miles broad and one hundred and eighty-five miles long, with a coast of two hundred and forty

A GENERAL VIEW OF PALMA, ON THE ISLAND OF MAJORCA, SPAIN.

miles. It has mountain ranges on the north, three considerable rivers, and woodland as well as meadow. The climate is healthy in spite of frequent mists and rains, sudden changes of temperature, and great midday heat. Mountains and climate and history have left their impress on its people. The Catalonians are distinct in origin from the other inhabitants of Spain, and differ from them to this day in dialect, dress, and character. About 470 A.D., this part of the peninsula was occupied by the Goths, whence it was called Gothalonia, and later Catalonia. It was taken possession of by the Berbers in 712, who in turn were dispossessed by the Spaniards and the troops of Charlemagne. In 1137 Catalonia was annexed to Aragon. The Catalonians are therefore a mixed race. They have always been distinguished for frugality, wit, and industry; they have much national pride and a strong revolutionary spirit.

The Catalan language and its large literature are quite distinct from that of the other Spanish provinces. The poetical works of Lull are among the oldest examples of Catalan extant.

The Balearic Islands have always belonged to the province of Catalonia as regards their people and their language. On a clear day the islands are plainly visible from the monastery of Monserrat, and by sea from Barcelona it is only one hundred and forty miles to Palma. Between these two harbors there has always been and is now a busy traffic. Majorca has an area of fourteen hundred and thirty square miles, a delightful climate, beautiful scenery, and a splendid harbor—Palma. Some of its valleys, such as Valdemosa and Soller, are celebrated for picturesque luxuriance. The northern mountain slopes are terraced; the olive, the vine, and the almond-tree are plenteous everywhere in the plains.

According to the description of modern travelers it is an earthly paradise. During the summer there is scarcity of water, but, following a system handed down from the Arabs, the autumn rains are collected in large reservoirs. On the payment of a certain rate each landholder has his fields flooded.

Palma, Lull's birthplace and burial-place, is a pretty town with narrow streets and a sort of medieval look except where modern trade has crowded out "the old-world, Moorish character of the buildings."

The cathedral is still a conspicuous building, and was commenced in 1230 and dedicated to the Virgin by the same King James who gave Lull's father estates near Palma. Portions of the original building still remain, and the visitor can enter the royal chapel (built in 1232) with assurance that if Lull did not worship here he at least saw the outside of the building frequently.

Palma probably owes its name and harbor to Metellus Balearicus, who in 123 B.C. settled three thousand Roman and Spanish colonists on the island, and whose expedition is symbolized on the Roman coins by a palm branch. He also gave his name to the island group, and the Balearic slingers are famous in Cæsar's "Commentaries."

Palma is to-day a busy little port, and direct commerce is carried on with Valencia, Barcelona, Marseilles, Cuba, Porto Rico, and even South American ports. The present population is about sixty thousand. Formerly, Palma was a great center for shipbuilding, and there is little doubt that in Lull's time this industry also gave importance to the town. As early as the fourteenth century a mole, to a length of three hundred and eighty-seven yards, was constructed to improve the harbor of Palma. This picturesque town was the birthplace of our hero, and to-day its in-

CHURCH OF SAN FRANCISCO AT PALMA, MAJORCA.

habitants are still proud to lead you to the church of San Francisco where he lies buried. As late as 1886 a new edition of Lull's works was printed and published at Palma by Rosselό.

The significance or the derivation of Lull's family name is lost in obscurity. His personal name Raymund (in Spanish Ramon or Raymundo) is Teutonic and signifies "wise protection" or "pure in speech." It was borne by two distinguished counts of Toulouse: one of them, Raymund IV., was a Crusader (1045–1105), and the other (1156–1222) befriended the Albigenses against the Pope. It is possible that Lull received his first name from one of these martial heroes whose exploits were well known in Catalonia.

Of Lull's infancy and early youth nothing is known for certain. He was accustomed to medieval luxury from his birth, as his parents had a large estate and his

father was distinguished for military services. Lull married at an early age, and, being fond of the pleasures of court life, left Palma and passed over with his bride to Spain, where he was made seneschal at the court of King James II. of Aragon. Thus his early manhood was spent in gaiety and even profligacy. All the enthusiasm and warmth of his character found exercise only in the pleasures of the court, and, by his own testimony, he lived a life of utter immorality in this corrupt age. Wine, women, and song were then, as often since, the chief pleasures of kings and princes. Notwithstanding his marriage and the blessing of children, Lull sought the reputation of a gallant and was mixed up in more than one intrigue. For this sort of life his office gave him every temptation and plenty of opportunity.

A seneschal (literally, an old servant)*

* From Latin *sene* + *scalcus*, or Gothic *sineigs* + *skalk*.

was the chief official in the household of a medieval prince or noble and had the superintendence of feasts and ceremonies. These must have been frequent and luxurious at the court of James II., for Aragon, previous to the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella, enjoyed the most liberal government of Europe. According to one authority, "the genius and maxims of the court were purely republican." The kings were elective, while the real exercise of power was in the hands of the Cortes, an assembly consisting of the nobility, the equestrian order, the representatives of cities, and the clergy. A succession of twenty sovereigns reigned from the year 1035 to 1516. At such a court and amid such an assemblage, probably in the capital town of Zaragoza (Saragossa), Lull spent several years of his life. He was early addicted to music and played the cithern with skill. But he was yet more celebrated as a court poet. Accord-

ing to his own confessions, however, the theme of his poetical effusions was not seldom the joys of lawless love. "I see, O Lord," he says in his Contemplations, "that trees bring forth every year flowers and fruit, each after their kind, whence mankind derive pleasure and profit. But thus it was not with me, sinful man that I am; for thirty years I brought forth no fruit in this world, I cumbered the ground, nay, was noxious and hurtful to my friends and neighbors. Therefore, since a mere tree, which has neither intellect nor reason, is more fruitful than I have been, I am exceedingly ashamed and count myself worthy of great blame." * In another part of the same book he returns thanks to God for the great difference he sees between the works of his after-life and those of his youth. "Then," he says, all his "actions were sinful and he enjoyed the pleasures of sinful companionship."

* "Liber Contemplationis in Deo," ix., 257, ed. 1740.

Raymund Lull was gifted with great mental accomplishments and enthusiasm. He had the soul of a poet, but at first his genius groveled in the mire of sensual pleasures, like that of other poets whose passions were not under the control of religion. We do Lull injustice, however, if we judge his court life by the standards of our Christian century. His whole environment was that of medieval darkness, and he was a gay knight at the banquets of James II. before he became a scholastic philosopher and a missionary. As knight he knew warfare and horsemanship so well that among his books there are several treatises on these sciences,* first written in Catalan, and afterward put into Latin. Undoubtedly these were written, as was most of his poetry, before he was thirty years old. He was the most popular poet of his age in Spain, and his influence on

* For a list of these works see Helfferich, p. 74, note.

Catalonian poetry is acknowledged in such terms of praise by students of Spanish literature that he might be called the founder of the Catalonian school of poets. The philological importance of Lull's Catalonian writings, especially his poems, was shown by Adolph Helfferich in his book on "Lull and the Origin of Catalan Literature." In this volume specimens of his poetry and proverbs are given. A writer in the "Encyclopedia Britannica" speaks of one of his poems, "Lo Desconort" (Despair) as eminently fine and composite in its diction. This poem, if it was written before his conversion, as is probable, would already show that Lull himself was dissatisfied at heart with his life of worldly pleasure. Already, perhaps, there arose within him a mighty struggle between the spirit and the flesh. Sensual pleasures never satisfy, and his lower and higher natures strove one with the other.

It seems that at about his thirty-second year he returned to Palma, altho there is little certainty of date among his biographers. At any rate it was at the place of his birth that Lull was born again. It was in the Franciscan church, and not at the court of Aragon, that he received his final call and made his decision to forsake all and become a preacher of righteousness. The prodigal son came to himself amid the swine, and his feet were already toward home when he saw his Father, and his Father ran out to meet him. The story of St. Augustine under the fig-tree at Milan was reenacted at Palma.

CHAPTER III

THE VISION AND CALL TO SERVICE

(A.D. 1266–1267)

"I will pour out my spirit upon all flesh, . . . and your young men shall see visions."—*Joel ii. 28.*

When St. Paul told King Agrippa the story of his life, the key of it lay in the words, "I was not disobedient to the heavenly vision." The angel had come to him and called him straight away from his career as arch-persecutor. All that he had done or meant to do was now of the past. He arose from the ground and took up his life again as one who could not be disobedient to his vision. It was a vision of Christ that made Paul a missionary. And his was not the last instance of the ful-

filment of Joel's great prophecy. The twentieth century, even, dares not mock at the supernatural; and materialistic philosophy can not explain the phenomena of the spirit world. The Christians of the thirteenth century believed in visions and saw visions. Altho an age of visions is apt to be a visionary age, this was not altogether true of the thirteenth century. The visions of Francis of Assisi, of Catherine the Saint, of Peter Nolasco, and of others in this age, had a tremendous effect on their lives and influence. We may doubt the vision, but we can not doubt its result in the lives of those who profess to have seen it. Call it religious hallucination or pious imagination if you will, but even then it has power. Ruskin says that "such imagination is given us that we may be able to vision forth the ministry of angels beside us and see the chariots of fire on the mountains that gird us round." In that age of Mariol-

atry and angel-worship and imitation of saints, it was not *such* a vision that arrested Lull, but a vision of Jesus Himself. The story, as told in a Life* written with his consent during his lifetime, is as follows:

One evening the seneschal was sitting on a couch, with his cithern on his knees, composing a song in praise of a noble married lady who had fascinated him but who was insensible to his passion. Suddenly, in the midst of the erotic song, he saw on his right hand the Savior hanging on His cross, the blood trickling from His hands and feet and brow, look reproachfully at him. Raymund, conscience-struck, started up; he could sing no more; he laid aside his cithern and, deeply moved, retired to bed. Eight days after, he again attempted to finish the song and again took

* S. Baring-Gould: "Lives of the Saints," vol. vi., p. 489. Maclear: "History of Christian Missions in the Middle Ages," pp. 355, 356.

up the plea of an unrequited lover. But now again, as before, the image of Divine Love incarnate appeared—the agonized form of the Man of Sorrows. The dying eyes of the Savior were fixed on him mournfully, pleadingly:

> "See from His head, His hands, His feet
> Sorrow and love flow mingling down:
> Did ere such love and sorrow meet,
> Or thorns compose so rich a crown?"

Lull cast his lute aside, and threw himself on his bed, a prey to remorse. He had seen the highest and deepest unrequited love. But the thought that

> "Love so amazing, so divine,
> Demands my soul, my life, my all,"

had not yet reached him. The effect of the vision was so transitory that he was not ready to yield until it again repeated itself.* Then Lull could not resist the

*"Tertio et quarto successivo diebus interpositis aliquibus, Salvator, in forma semper qua primitus, apparet."—"Acta Sanctorum," p. 669.

thought that this was a special message for himself to conquer his lower passions and to devote himself entirely to Christ's service. He felt engraved on his heart, as it were, the great spectacle of divine Self-sacrifice. Henceforth he had only one passion, to love and serve Christ. But there arose the doubt, How can I, defiled with impurity, rise and enter on a holier life? Night after night, we are told, he lay awake, a prey to despondency and doubt. He wept like Mary Magdalen, remembering how much and how deeply he had sinned. At length the thought occurred: Christ is meek and full of compassion; He invites all to come to Him; He will not cast me out. With that thought came consolation. Because he was forgiven so much he loved the more, and concluded that he would forsake the world and give up all for his Savior. How he was confirmed in this resolve we shall see shortly.

By way of parenthesis it is necessary to give another account of Lull's conversion which the author of "Acta Sanctorum" relates, and says he deems "improbable but not impossible." According to this story Lull was one day passing the window of the house of Signora Ambrosia, the married lady whose love he vainly sought to gain. He caught a glimpse of her ivory throat and bosom. On the spot he composed and sang a song to her beauty. The lady sent for him and showed him the bosom he so much admired, eaten with hideous cancers! She then besought him to lead a better life. On his return home Christ appeared to him and said, "Raymund, follow Me." He gave up his court position, sold all his property, and withdrew to the retirement of a cell on Mount Roda. This was about the year 1266. When he had spent nine years in retirement he came to the conclusion that he was called

of God to preach the Gospel to the Mohammedans.*

Some biographers know nothing of this nine years' retirement in a cell at Mount Roda near Barcelona, altho all of them agree that his conversion took place in July, 1266. The visions and spiritual conflicts and experiences at Mount Roda gained for Lull the title of "Doctor Illuminatus," the scholar enlightened from heaven. And if we look at the life that was the result of these visions, we can not deny that, in this dark age, heaven did indeed enlighten Lull to know the love of God and to do the will of God as no other in his day and generation.

Let us go back to the story of his conversion as told by Lull himself in that work, "On Divine Contemplation," which may

* See article by Rev. Edwin Wallace, of Oxford University, in the Encyclopedia Britannica, where Mount Roda is wrongly spelled Randa.

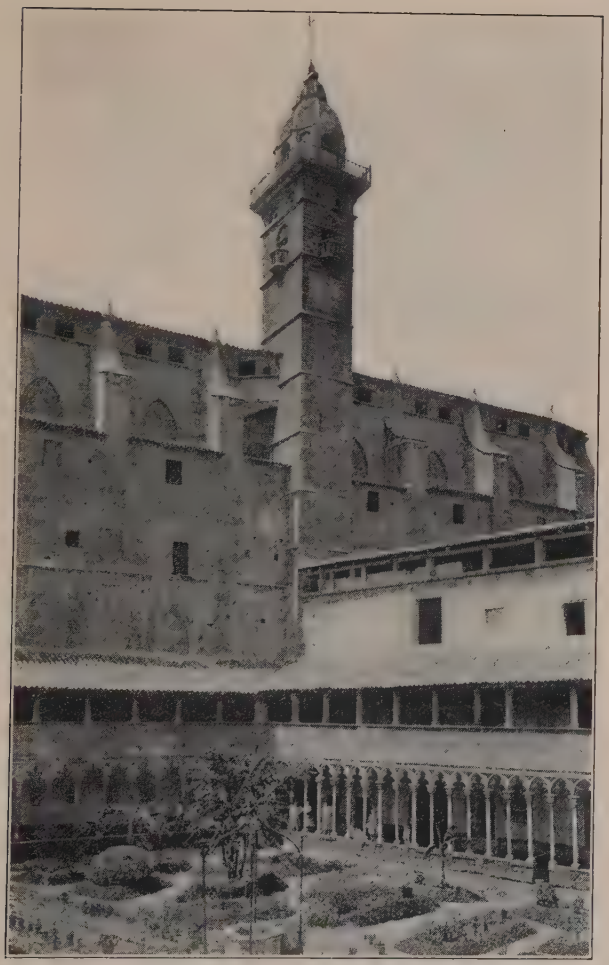
be put side by side with Bunyan's "Grace Abounding" and Augustine's "Confessions" as the biography of a penitent soul.

After the visions he came to the conclusion that he could devote his energies to no higher work than that of proclaiming the Message of the Cross to the Saracens. His thoughts would naturally take this direction. The islands of Majorca and Minorca had only recently been in the hands of the Saracens. His father had wielded the sword of the king of Aragon against these enemies of the Gospel; why should not the son now take up the sword of the Spirit against them? If the carnal weapons of the crusading knights had failed to conquer Jerusalem, was it not time to sound the bugle for a spiritual crusade for the conversion of the Saracen? Such were the thoughts that filled his mind. But then, he says, a difficulty arose. How could he, a layman, in an age when

the Church and the clergy were supreme, enter on such a work? Thereupon it occurred to him that at least a beginning might be made by composing a volume which should demonstrate the truth of Christianity and convince the warriors of the Crescent of their errors. This book, however, would not be understood by them unless it were in Arabic, and of this language he was ignorant; other difficulties presented themselves and almost drove him to despair. Full of such thoughts, he one day repaired to a neighboring church and poured forth his whole soul to God, beseeching Him if He did inspire these thoughts to enable him to carry them out.*

This was in the month of July. But, al-

* "Vita Prima," p. 662. "Dominum Jesum Christum devote, fleus largiter exoravit, quatenus hæc prædicta tua quæ ipse misericorditer inspiraverat cordi suo, ad effectum sibi placitum perducere dignaretur." Several authorities put a period of short backsliding between his conversion and the account of the sermon by the friar that follows in our text.



THE CLOISTERS OF THE CHURCH OF SAN FRANCISCO.

tho old desires and the old life were passing away, all things had not yet become new. For three months his great design was laid aside and he struggled with old passions for the mastery. On the fourth of October, the festival of St. Francis of Assisi, Lull went to the Franciscan church at Palma and heard from the lips of the friar-preacher the tale of the "Spouse of Poverty." He learned how this son of Pietro Bernadone di Mericoni, once foremost in deeds of war and a gay worldling, was taken prisoner at Perugia and brought by disease to the very gates of death; how he saw visions of the Christ and of the world to come; how, when he emerged from his dungeon, he exchanged his gay apparel for the garb of the mendicant, visiting the sick, tending the leprous, and preaching the Gospel; how in 1219, before the walls of Damietta, this missionary-monk crossed over to the infidels and wit-

nessed for Christ before the Sultan, declaring, "I am not sent of man, but of God, to show thee the way of salvation."

The words of the preacher rekindled the fires of love half-smothered in the heart of Lull. He now made up his mind once and forever. He sold all his property, which was considerable, gave the money to the poor, and reserved only a scanty allowance for his wife and children. This was the vow of his consecration in his own words: "To Thee, Lord God, do I now offer myself and my wife and my children and all that I possess; and since I approach Thee humbly with this gift and sacrifice, may it please Thee to condescend to accept all what I give and offer up now for Thee, that I and my wife and my children may be Thy humble slaves." * It was a covenant of complete surrender, and the repeated reference to his wife and children shows that Ray-

* "Liber Contemplationis in Deo," xci., 27.

mund Lull's wandering passions had found rest at last. It was a *family* covenant, and by this token we know that Lull had forever said farewell to his former companions and his life of sin.

He assumed the coarse garb of a mendicant, made pilgrimages to various churches in the island, and prayed for grace and assistance in the work he had resolved to undertake. The mantle of apostolic succession fell from Francis of Assisi, forty years dead, upon the layman of Palma, now in his thirtieth year. From the mendicant orders of the Middle Ages, their precepts and their example, Lull in part drew his passionate, ascetic, and unselfish devotion. Most of his biographers assert that he became a Franciscan, but that is doubtful, especially since some of the earliest biographers were themselves of that order and would naturally seek glory in his memory.*

* See Noble: "The Redemption of Africa," vol. i., p. 110.

Eymeric, a Catalonian Dominican in 1334 and the inquisitor of Aragon after 1356, expressly states that Lull was a lay merchant and a heretic. In 1371 the same Eymeric pointed out five hundred heresies in Lull's works, and in consequence Gregory XI. forbade some of the books. The Franciscans, Antonio Wadding and others, afterward warmly defended Lull and his writings, but the Jesuits have always been hostile to his memory. Therefore the Roman Catholic Church long hesitated whether to condemn Lull as a heretic or to recognize him as a martyr and a saint. He was never canonized by any pope, but in Spain and Majorca all good Catholics regard him as a saintly Franciscan. In a letter I have received from the present bishop of Majorca he speaks of Raymund Lull as "an extraordinary man with apostolic virtues, and worthy of all admiration."

Frederic Perry Noble, in speaking of

Lull's conversion, says: "His new birth, be it noted, sprang from a passion for Jesus. Lull's faith was not sacramental, but personal and vital, more Catholic than Roman." Even as the Catalonians first arose in protest and revolution against the tyranny of the state in the Middle Ages, so their countryman is distinguished for daring to act apart from the tyranny of the Church and to inaugurate the rights of laymen. The inner life of Lull finds its key in the story of his conversion. Incarnate Love overcame carnal love, and all of the passion and the poetry of Lull's genius bowed in submission to the cross. The vision of his youth explains the motto of his old age: "He who loves not lives not; he who lives by the Life can not die." The image of the suffering Savior remained for fifty years the mainspring of his being. Love for the personal Christ filled his heart, molded his mind, inspired his pen, and

made his soul long for the crown of martyrdom. Long years afterward, when he sought for a reasonable proof of that greatest mystery of revelation and the greatest stumbling-block for Moslems—the doctrine of the Trinity—he once more recalled the vision. His proof for the Trinity was the love of God in Christ as revealed to us by the Holy Spirit.

CHAPTER IV

PREPARATION FOR THE CONFLICT

(A.D. 1267–1274)

"Sive ergo Mahometicus error hæretico nomine deturpetur; cive gentili aut pagano infametur; agendum contra eum est, scribendum est."—*Petrus Venerabilis*, † 1157.

"Aggredior vos, non ut nostri sæpe faciunt, armis, sed verbis, non vi sed ratione, non odio sed amore."—*Ibid.*

By his bold decision to attack Islam with the weapons of Christian philosophy, and in his lifelong conflict with this gigantic heresy, Lull proved himself the Athanasius of the thirteenth century. The Mohammedan missionary problem at the dawn of the twentieth century is not greater than it was then. True, Islam was not so extensive, but it was equally aggressive, and,

if possible, more arrogant. The Mohammedan world was more of a unit, and from Bagdad to Morocco Moslems felt that the Crusades had been a defeat for Christendom. One-half of Spain was under Moslem rule. In all Northern Africa Saracen power was in the ascendant. Many conversions to Islam took place in Georgia, and thousands of the Christian Copts in Egypt were saying farewell to the religion of their fathers and embracing the faith of the Mameluke conquerors. It was just at this time that Islam began to spread among the Mongols. In India, Moslem preachers were extending the faith in Ajmir and the Punjab. The Malay archipelago first heard of Mohammed about the time when Lull was born.* Beybars I., the first and greatest of the Mameluke Sultans, sat on the throne of Egypt.

* Arnold: "Preaching of Islam," synchronological table, p. 389, 1896.

A man of grand achievements, unceasing activity, and stern orthodoxy, he used every endeavor to extend and strengthen the religion of the state.* Islam had political power and prestige. She was mistress of philosophy and science. In the beginning of the thirteenth century the scientific works of Aristotle were translated from the Arabic into Latin. Roger Bacon and Albertus Magnus were so learned that the clergy accused them of being in league with the Saracens!

Such was the Mohammedan world which Lull dared to defy, and planned to attack with the new weapons of love and learning instead of the Crusaders' weapons of fanaticism and the sword. The Christian world did not love Moslems in the thirteenth century, nor did they understand their religion. Marco Polo, a contempo-

† Muir: "The Mameluke Dynasty of Egypt," p. 31, London, 1896.

rary of Lull, wrote: "Marvel not that the Saracens hate the Christians; for the accursed law which Mohammed gave them commands them to do all the mischief in their power to all other descriptions of people, and especially to Christians; to strip such of their goods and do them all manner of evil. In such fashion the Saracens act throughout the world." *

Dante voices the common opinion of this age when he puts Mohammed in the deepest hell of his Inferno and describes his fate in such dreadful language as offends polite ears. † But even worse things were said of the Arabian prophet in prose by other of Lull's contemporaries. Gross ignorance and great hatred were joined in nearly all who made any attempt to describe Mohammedanism.

* "Marco Polo's Travels," Colonel Yule's edition, vol. i., p. 69.

† "Hell," canto xxviii., 20–39, in Dante's "Vision," Cary's edition.

Alanus de Insulis (1114–1200) was one of the first to write a book on Islam in Latin, and the title shows his ignorance: "*Contra paganos seu Mahometanos.*" He classes Moslems with Jews and Waldenses! Western Europe, according to Keller, was ignorant even of the century in which Mohammed was born; and Hildebert, the archbishop of Tours, wrote a poem on Mohammed in which he is represented as an apostate from the Christian Church! Petrus Venerabilis, whose pregnant words stand at the head of this chapter, was the first to translate the Koran and to study Islam with sympathy and scholarship. He made a plea for translating portions of the Scripture into the language of the Saracens, and affirmed that the Koran itself had weapons with which to attack the citadel of Islam. But, alas! he added the plea of the scholar at his books: "I myself have no time to enter into the conflict." He

first distinguished the true and the false in the teaching of Mohammed, and with keen judgment pointed out the pagan and Christian elements in Islam.* Petrus Venerabilis took up the pen of controversy and approached the Moslem, as he says, "Not with arms but with words, not by force but by reason, not in hatred but in love"; and in so far he was the first to breathe the true missionary spirit toward the Saracens. But he did not go out to them. It was reserved for the Spanish knight to take up the challenge and go out single-handed against the Saracens, "not by force but by reason, not in hatred but in love." It was Raymund Lull who wrote: "*I see many knights going to the Holy Land beyond the seas and thinking that they can acquire it by force of arms; but in the end all are destroyed before they*

* A. Keller's "Geisteskampf des Christentums gegen den Islam bis zur Zeit der Kreuzzüge," pp. 41, 43, Leipsic, 1896.

attain that which they think to have. Whence it seems to me that the conquest of the Holy Land ought not to be attempted except in the way in which Thou and Thine apostles acquired it, namely, by love and prayers, and the pouring out of tears and of blood."

Lull was ready to pour out this sacrifice on the altar. The vision remained with him, and his love to God demanded exercise in showing forth that love to men.

He was not in doubt that God had chosen him to preach to the Saracens and win them to Christ. He only hesitated as to the best method to pursue. All the past history of his native land and the struggle yet going on in Spain emphasized for him the greatness of the task before him.

The knight of Christ felt that he could not venture into the arena unless he had good armor. The son of the soldier who had fought the Moors on many a bloody

battle-field felt that the Saracens were worthy foemen. The educated seneschal knew that the Arabian schools of Cordova were the center of European learning, and that it was not so easy to convince a Saracen as a barbarian of Northern Europe.

At one time, we read, Lull thought of repairing to Paris, and there by close and diligent scientific study to train himself for controversy with Moslems. At Paris in the thirteenth century was the most famous university of Christendom. And under St. Louis, Robert de Sorbon, a common priest, founded in 1253 an unpretending theological college which afterward became the celebrated faculty of the Sorbonne with authority wellnigh as great as that of Rome.

But the advice of his kinsman, the Dominican Raymund de Pennaforte, dissuaded him, and he decided to remain at Majorca and pursue his studies and prepa-

ration privately. First he laid plans for a thorough mastery of the Arabic language. To secure a teacher was not an easy matter, as Majorca had years ago passed from Saracen into Christian hands, and as no earnest Moslem would teach the Koran language to one whose professed purpose was to assail Islam with the weapons of philosophy.

He therefore decided to purchase a Saracen slave, and with this teacher his biographers tell us that Lull was occupied in Arabic study for a period of more than *nine* years. Could anything prove more clearly that Lull was the greatest as well as the first missionary to Moslems?

After this long, and we may believe successful, apprenticeship with the Saracen slave, a tragic incident interrupted his studies. Lull had learned the language of the Moslem, but the Moslem slave had not yet learned the love of Christ; nor had his

pupil. In the midst of their studies, on one occasion the Saracen blasphemed Christ. How, we are not told; but those who work among Moslems know what cruel, vulgar words can come from Moslem lips against the Son of God. When Lull heard the blasphemy, he struck his slave violently on the face in his strong indignation. The Moslem, stung to the quick, drew a weapon, attempted Lull's life, and wounded him severely. He was seized and imprisoned. Perhaps fearing the death-penalty for attempted murder, the Saracen slave committed suicide. It was a sad beginning for Lull in his work of preparation. Patience had not yet had its perfect work. Lull felt more than ever before, "He that loves not lives not." The vision of the thorn-crowned Head came back to him; he could not forget his covenant.

Altho he retired for eight days to a mountain to engage in prayer and medita-

tion, he did not falter, but persevered in his resolution. Even as in the case of Henry Martyn with his munshi, Sabat, who made life a burden to him, so Lull's experience with his Saracen slave was a school of faith and patience.

Besides his Arabic studies, Lull spent these nine years in spiritual meditation, in what he calls contemplating God.

> "The awakened gaze
> Turned wholly from the earth, on things of heaven
> He dwelt both day and night. The thought of God
> Filled him with infinite joy; his craving soul
> Dwelt on Him as a feast; as did the soul
> Of rapt Francesco in his holy cell
> In blest Assisi; and he knew the pain,
> The deep despondence of the saint, the doubt,
> The consciousness of dark offense, the joy
> Of full assurance last, when heaven itself
> Stands open to the ecstasy of faith."

While thus employed the idea occurred to him of composing a work which should contain a strict and formal demonstration of all the Christian doctrines, of such co-

gency that the Moslems could not fail to acknowledge its logic and in consequence embrace the truth. Perhaps the idea was suggested to him by Raymund de Pennaforte, for he it was who, a few years previous, had persuaded Thomas Aquinas to compose his work in four volumes, "On the Catholic Faith, or Summary against the Gentiles."*

In Lull's introduction to his "Necessaria Demonstratio Articulorum Fidei" he refers to the time when the idea of a controversial book for Moslems first took possession of him, and asks "the clergy and the wise men of the laity to examine his arguments against the Saracens in commending the Christian faith." He pleads earnestly that any weak points in his attempt to convince the Moslem be pointed out to him before the book is sent on its errand.

* Maclear: "History of Missions," p. 358, where authorities are cited.

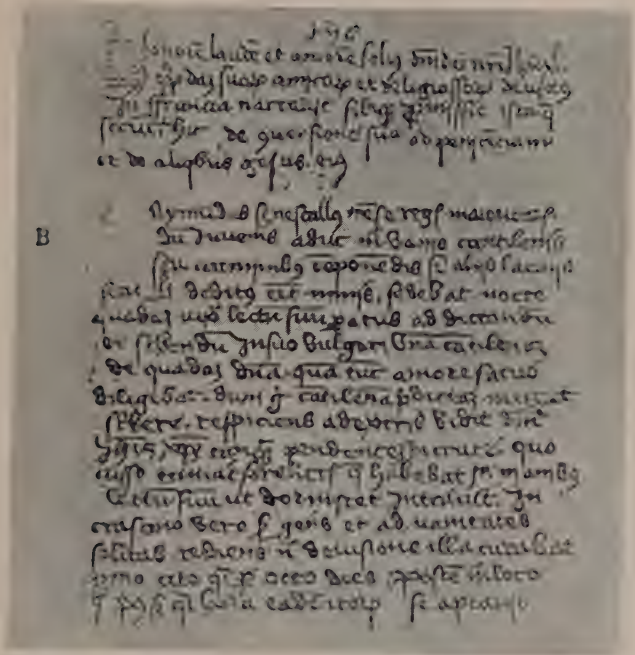
With such power did this one idea take possession of his mind that at last he regarded it in the light of a divine revelation, and, having traced the outline of such a work, he called it the "Ars Major sive Generalis." This universal system of logic and philosophy was to be the weapon of God against all error, and more especially against the errors of Islam.

Lull was now in his forty-first year. All his intellectual powers were matured. He retired to the spot near Palma where the idea had first burst upon him, and remained there for four months, writing the book and praying for divine blessing on its arguments. According to one biographer,* it was at this time that Lull held interviews with a certain mysterious shepherd, "quem ipse nunquam viderat alias, neque de ipso audiverat quenquam loqui." Is it possible that this refers only to the Great Shepherd

* "Vita Prima," in "Acta Sanctorum," 663.

and to Lull's spiritual experiences, far away from his friends and family, in some lonely spot near Palma?

The "Ars Major" was finally completed in the year 1275. Lull had an interview with the king of Majorca, and under his patronage the first book of his new "Method" was published. Lull also began to lecture upon it in public. This remarkable treatise, while in one sense intended for the special work of convincing Moslems, was to include "a universal art of acquisition, demonstration, confutation," and was meant "to cover the whole field of knowledge and to supersede the inadequate methods of previous schoolmen." For the *method* of Lull's philosophy we will wait until we reach the chapter specially devoted to an account of his teaching and his books. A few words, however, regarding the *purpose* of the Lullian method are in place.



FACSIMILE OF PAGE FROM LULL'S LATIN WORKS.

In the age of scholasticism, when all sorts of puerile questions were seriously debated in the schools, and philosophy was anything but practical, it was Lull who proposed to use the great weapon of this age, dialectics, in the service of the Gospel and for the practical end of converting the Saracens. Let us admit that he was a scholastic, but he was also a missionary. His scholastic philosophy is ennobled by its fiery zeal for the propagation of the Gospel, and by the love for Christ which purifies all its dross in the flame of passion for souls.

We may smile at Lull's dialectic, and his "circles and tables for finding out the different ways in which categories apply to things"; but no one can help admiring the spirit that inspired the method. "In his assertion of the place of reason in religion, in his demand that a *rational* Christianity should be presented to heathendom,

Lull goes far beyond the ideas and the aspirations of the century in which he lived." *

In judging the character of Lull's method and his long period of preparation, one thing must not be forgotten. The strength of Islam in the age of scholasticism was its philosophy. Having thoroughly entered into the spirit of Arabian philosophical writings and seen its errors, there was nothing left for a man of Lull's intellect but to meet these Saracen philosophers on their own ground. Avicenna, Algazel, and Averroes sat on the throne of Moslem learning and ruled Moslem thought. Lull's object was to undermine their influence and so reach the Moslem heart with the message of salvation. For such a conflict and in such an age his weapons were well chosen.

* "Encyclopedia Britannica," vol. xv., p. 64.

CHAPTER V

AT MONTPELLIER, PARIS, AND ROME

(A.D. 1275–1298)

"I have but one passion and it is He — He only." — *Zinzendorf.*

"In his assertion of the function of reason in religion and his demand that a rational Christianity be placed before Islam, this Don Quixote of his times belongs to our day."—*Frederic Perry Noble.*

It is difficult to follow the story of Lull's life in exact chronological order because the sources at our disposal do not always agree in their dates. However, by grouping the events of his life, order comes out of confusion. Lull's lifework was threefold: he devised a philosophical or educational system for persuading non-Christians of the truth of Christianity; he established

missionary colleges; and he himself went and preached to the Moslems, sealing his witness with martyrdom. The story of his life is best told and best remembered if we follow this clue to its many years of loving service. Lull himself, when he was about sixty years old, reviews his life in these words: "I had a wife and children; I was tolerably rich; I led a secular life. All these things I cheerfully resigned for the sake of promoting the common good and diffusing abroad the holy faith. I learned Arabic. I have several times gone abroad to preach the Gospel to the Saracens. I have for the sake of the faith been cast into prison and scourged. *I have labored forty-five years to gain over the shepherds of the church and the princes of Europe to the common good of Christendom.* Now I am old and poor, but still I am intent on the same object. I will persevere in it till death, if the Lord permits it."

The sentence italicized is the subject of this chapter: the story of Lull's effort to found missionary schools and to persuade popes and princes that the true Crusade was to be with the pen and not with the sword. It was a grand idea, and it was startlingly novel in the age of Lull. It was an idea that, next to his favorite scheme of philosophy, possessed his whole soul. Both ideas were thoroughly missionary and they interacted the one on the other.

No sooner had Lull completed his "Ars Major," and lectured on it in public, than he set to work to persuade the king, James II., who had heard of his zeal, to found and endow a monastery in Majorca where Franciscan monks should be instructed in the Arabic language and trained to become able disputants among the Moslems. The king welcomed the idea, and in the year 1276 such a monastery was opened and thirteen monks began to study Lull's

method and imbibe Lull's spirit. He aimed not at a mere school of theology or philosophy: his ideal training for the foreign field was ahead of many theological colleges of our century. It included in its curriculum the geography of missions and the language of the Saracens! "Knowledge of the regions of the world," he wrote, "is strongly necessary for the republic of believers and the conversion of unbelievers, and for withstanding infidels and Antichrist. The man unacquainted with geography is not only ignorant where he walks, but whither he leads. Whether he attempts the conversion of infidels or works for other interests of the Church, it is indispensable that he know the religions and the environments of all nations." This is high-water mark for the dark ages! The pioneer for Africa, six centuries before Livingstone, felt what the latter expressed more concisely but not more forcibly:

"The end of the geographical feat is the beginning of the missionary enterprise."

Authorities disagree whether this missionary training-school of Lull was opened under the patronage of the king, at Palma, or at Montpellier. From the fact that in 1297 Lull received letters at Montpellier from the general of the Franciscans recommending him to the superiors of all Franciscan houses, it seems that he must have formed connections with the brotherhood there at an early period.

Montpellier, now a town of considerable importance in the south of France near the Gulf of Lyons, dates its prosperity from the beginning of the twelfth century. In 1204 it became a dependency of the house of Aragon through marriage, and remained so until 1350. Several Church councils were held there during the thirteenth century, and in 1292 Pope Nicholas IV., probably at the suggestion of Lull, founded a

university at Montpellier. Its medical school was famous in the Middle Ages, and had in its faculty learned Jews who were educated in the Moorish schools of Spain.

At Montpellier Lull spent three or four years in study and in teaching. Here, most probably, he wrote his medical works, and some of his books appealing for help to open other missionary schools. In one place he thus pleads with words of fire for consecration to this cause: "I find scarcely any one, O Lord, who out of love to Thee is ready to suffer martyrdom as Thou hast suffered for us. It appears to me agreeable to reason, if an ordinance to that effect could be obtained, that the monks should learn various languages that they might be able to go out and surrender their lives in love to Thee. . . . O Lord of glory, if that blessed day should ever be in which I might see Thy holy monks so influenced by zeal to glorify Thee as to go to foreign

lands in order to testify of Thy holy ministry, of Thy blessed incarnation, and of Thy bitter sufferings, that would be a glorious day, a day in which that glow of devotion would return with which the holy apostles met death for their Lord Jesus Christ." *

Lull longed with all his soul for a new Pentecost and for world-wide missions. Montpellier was too small to be his parish, altho he was but a layman. His ambition was, in his own words, "to gain over the shepherds of the Church and the princes of Europe" to become missionary enthusiasts like himself. Where should he place his fulcrum to exert leverage to this end save at the very center of Christendom? Popes had inaugurated and promoted the crusades of blood; they held the keys of spiritual and temporal power; their command in the Middle Ages was as a voice from

* "Liber Contemplationis in Deo," cx., 28. Tom. ix., 246.

heaven; their favor was the dew of blessing. Moreover, Lull's success with the king of Aragon led him to hope that the chief shepherd of Christendom might evince a similar interest in his plans.

He therefore undertook a journey to Rome in 1286, hoping to obtain from Honorius IV. the approbation of his treatise and aid in founding missionary schools in various parts of Europe. Honorius was distinguished during his brief pontificate for zeal and love of learning. He cleared the Papal States of bands of robbers, and attempted, in favor of learning, to found a school of Oriental languages at Paris. Had he lived it is possible that Lull would have succeeded in his quest. Honorius died April 3, 1287.

Raymund Lull came to Rome, but found the papal chair vacant and all men busy with one thing, the election of a successor. He waited for calmer times, but impedi-

ments were always thrown in his way. His plans met with some ridicule and with little encouragement. The cardinals cared for their own ambitions more than for the conversion of the world.

Nicholas IV. succeeded to the papal throne, and his character was such that we do not wonder that Lull gave up the idea of persuading him to become a missionary. He was a man without faith; and his monstrous disregard of treaties and oaths in the controversy with the king of Aragon, Alphonso, struck at the root of all honor.* He believed in fighting the Saracens with the sword only, and sought actively but vainly to organize another Crusade. Not until ten years after did Lull again venture to appeal to a pope.

Disappointed at Rome, Lull repaired to Paris, and there lectured in the university on his "Ars Generalis," composing other

* Milman: "History of Latin Christianity," vi., 175.

works on various sciences, but most of all preparing his works of controversy and seeking to propagate his ideas of world-conquest. In one of his books he prays fervently that "*monks of holy lives and great wisdom should form institutions in order to learn various languages and to be able to preach to unbelievers.*" The times were not ripe.

At length, tired of seeking aid for his plans in which no one took interest, he determined to test the power of example. Altho in his fifty-sixth year, he determined to set out alone and single-handed and preach Christ in North Africa. Of this first missionary voyage our next chapter contains an account.

On his return from Tunis, 1292, Lull found his way to Naples. Here a new influence was brought to bear on his character. He made the acquaintance of the alchemist and pious nobleman, Arnaud

de Villeneuve. Whether Lull actually acquired skill in transmuting metals and wrote some of the many works on alchemy that are attributed to him, will perhaps never be decided. I rather think this part of the story is medieval legend. But surely a man of Lull's affections imbibed a great deal of that spirit which brought down on Arnold of Villeneuve the censure of the Church for holding that "medicine and charity were more pleasing to God than religious services." Arnold taught that the monks had corrupted the doctrine of Christ, and that saying masses is useless; and that the papacy is a work of man. His writings were condemned by the Inquisition, as were also the works of Lull. Perhaps these brothers in heresy were really Protestants at heart, and their friendship was like that of the friends of God.

For the next few years the scene of Lull's labors changed continually. He first

went back to Paris, resumed his teaching there, and wrote his "Tabula Generalis" and "Ars Expositiva." In 1298 he succeeded in establishing at Paris, under the protection of King Louis Philippe le Bel, a college where his method was taught. But all France was in a ferment at this time because of the war against the Knights-Templars and the struggle with Pope Boniface VIII. There was little leisure to study philosophy and no inclination to become propagandists among the Saracens.

Lull's thoughts again turned to Rome. But, alas! Rome in the thirteenth century was the last place of all Europe in which to find the spirit of self-sacrifice or the spirit of Christian missions. About the year 1274 the cessation of Church miracles was urged by an upholder of the crusade spirit as compelling the Church to resort to arms. Pope Clement IV. (1265–68) advised fighting Islam by force of arms. As a rule, the

popes clung to the crusade idea as the ideal of missions.

Lull visited Rome the second time between 1294 and 1296. He had heard of the elevation of Celestine V. to the papal chair, and with some reason hoped that this Pope would favor his cause. Celestine was a man of austerity, the founder of an order of friars, and zealous for the faith. On the fifteenth of July, 1294, he was elected, but, compelled by the machinations of his successor, resigned his office on December 13 of the same year. He was cruelly imprisoned by the new Pope, Boniface VIII., and died two years later. Boniface was bold, avaricious, and domineering. His ambitions centered in himself. He carried his schemes for self-aggrandizement to the verge of frenzy, and afterward became insane. Lull found neither sympathy nor assistance in this quarter.

From 1299 to 1306, when he made his

second great journey to North Africa, Lull preached and taught in various places, as we shall see later.

In 1310 the veteran hero, now seventy-five years old, attempted once more to influence the heart of Christendom and to persuade the pope to make the Church true to its great mission.

Full of his old ardor, since he himself was unable to attempt the great plans of spiritual conquest that consumed his very heart, he conceived the idea of founding an order of spiritual knights who should be ready to preach to the Saracens and so recover the tomb of Christ by a crusade of love.* Pious noblemen and ladies of rank at Genoa offered to contribute for this object the sum of thirty thousand guilders. Much encouraged by this proof of interest,

* Not, as wrongly stated in some articles about Lull, a proposal to use force of arms. *Cf.* Noble, p. 116, and Maclear, p. 366, with footnote in latter from "Liber Contemplationis in Deo," cxii., 11.

Lull set out for Avignon to lay his scheme before the pope, Clement V. He was the first pope who fixed his residence at Avignon, thus beginning the so-called "Babylonian Captivity" of the papacy. Contemporaneous writers accuse him of licentiousness, nepotism, simony, and avarice. It is no wonder that, with such a man holding the keys of authority, Lull again knocked at the door of "the vicar of Christ" all in vain.

Once more Lull returned to Paris, and, strong in mind altho feeble in frame, attacked the Arabian philosophy of Averroes and wrote in defense of the faith and the doctrines of revelation.* At Paris he heard that a general conference was to be

* See the bibliography and consult Renan's "Averrhoes et l'Averrhoisme" for particulars of his method and success. The Averroists from the thirteenth century onward opposed reason to faith. Lull's great task was to show that they were not irreconcilable, but mutually related and in harmony. It was, in fact, the battle of faith against agnosticism.

summoned at Vienne, three hundred miles away in the south of France, on October 16, 1311. A general council might favor what popes had scarcely deigned to notice. So he retraced the long journey he had just taken. Nearly three hundred prelates were present at the council. The combat of heresies, the abrogation of the order of Templars, proposals for new crusades, and discussions as to the legitimacy of Boniface VIII. occupied the most attention. Nevertheless the council gave heed to at least one of Lull's proposals, and passed a decree that professorships of the Oriental languages should be endowed in the universities of Paris, Salamanca, and Oxford, and in all cities where the papal court resided.

Thus, at last, he had lived to see one portion of his lifelong pleadings brought to fruition. Who is able to follow out the result for missions of these first Oriental language chairs in European universities

even as far as saintly Martyn and Ion Keith Falconer, Arabic professor at Cambridge? For this great idea of missionary preparation in the schools Lull fought single-handed from early manhood to old age, until he stood on the threshold of success. He anticipated Loyola, Zinzendorf, and Duff in linking schools to missions; and his fire of passion for this object equaled, if not surpassed their zeal.

CHAPTER VI

HIS FIRST MISSIONARY JOURNEY TO TUNIS

(A.D. 1291–1292)

"In that bright sunny land
Across the tideless sea, where long ago
Proud Carthage reared its walls, beauteous and fair,
And large Phenician galleys laden deep
With richest stores, sailed bravely to and fro—
Where Gospel light in measure not unmixed
With superstitions vain, burned for a time,
And spread her peaceful conquests far and wide,
And gave her martyrs to the scorching fire—
There dwells to-day a darkness to be felt;
Each ray of that once rising, growing light
Faded and gone." —*Anon.*

When Raymund Lull met with disappointment on his first visit to Rome, he returned for a short time to Paris, as we have seen, and then determined to set out as a missionary indeed to propagate the faith

among the Moslems of Africa. Lull was at this time fifty-six years old, and travel in those days was full of hardship by land and by sea. The very year in which Lull set out, news reached Europe of the fall of Acre and the end of Christian power in Palestine. All Northern Africa was in the hands of the Saracens, and they were at once elated at the capture of Acre and driven to the height of fanaticism by the persecution of the Moors in Spain. It was a bold step that Lull undertook. But he counted not his life dear in the project, and was ready, so he thought, to venture all on the issue. He expected to win by love and persuasion; at least, in his own words, he would "experiment whether he himself could not persuade some of them by conference with their wise men and by manifesting to them, according to the divinely given Method, the Incarnation of the Son of God and the three Persons

of the Blessed Trinity in the Divine Unity of Essence." * Lull proposed a parliament of religions, and desired to meet the bald monotheism of Islam face to face with the revelation of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit.

Lull left Paris for Genoa, which was then the rival of Venice and contended with her for the supremacy of the Mediterranean. In the thirteenth century Genoa was at the height of its prosperity, and the superb palaces of that date still witness to the genius of her artists and the wealth of her merchant princes.

At Genoa the story of Lull's life was not unknown. Men had heard with wonder of the miraculous conversion of the gay and dissolute seneschal; and now it was whispered that he had devised a new and certain method for converting the "infidel" and was setting out all alone for the shores

* "Vita Prima," in "Acta Sanctorum," p. 633.

of Africa. The expectations of the people were raised to a high pitch. A vessel was found ready to sail for Africa and Lull's passage was engaged. The ship was lying in the harbor; the missionary's books, even, had been conveyed on board. All was ready for the voyage and the venture.

But at this juncture a change came over him. Lull says that he was "overwhelmed with terror at the thought of what might befall him in the country whither he was going. The idea of enduring torture or lifelong imprisonment presented itself with such force that he could not control his emotions." * Such a strong reaction after his act of faith in leaving Paris must not surprise us. Similar experiences are not rare in the lives of missionaries. Henry Martyn wrote in his journal as the shores of Cornwall were disappearing: "Would I go back? Oh, no. But how can I be sup-

* "Vita Prima," in "Acta Sanctorum," p. 664.

ported? My faith fails. I find, by experience, I am as weak as water. O my dear friends in England, when we spoke with exaltation of the missions to the heathen, what an imperfect idea did we form of the sufferings by which it must be accomplished!" Lull had to face a darker and more uncertain future than did Martyn. His faith failed. His books were taken back on shore and the ship sailed without him.

However, no sooner did he receive tidings of the vessel's departure than he was seized with bitter remorse. His passionate love for Christ could not bear the thought that he had proved a traitor to the cause for which God had specially fitted and called him. He felt that he had given opportunity for those who scoff at Christ's religion to mock Him and His great mission. So keen was his sorrow that he was thrown into a violent fever. While yet suffering

from weakness of body and prostration of mind, he heard that another ship was ready in the harbor and loaded to sail for the port of Tunis. Weak tho he was, he begged his friends to put his books on board and asked them to permit him to attempt the voyage. He was taken to the ship, but his friends, convinced that he could not outlive the voyage, insisted on his being again landed. Lull returned to his bed, but did not find rest or recuperation. His old passion consumed him; he felt the contrition of Jonah and cried with Paul, "Wo is me if I preach not." Another ship offering fit opportunity, he determined at all risks to be put on board.

It is heroic reading to follow Lull in his autobiography as he tells how "from this moment he was a new man." The vessel had hardly lost sight of land before all fever left him; his conscience no more rebuked him for cowardice, peace of mind returned,

and he seemed to have regained perfect health. Lull reached Tunis at the end of the year 1291 or early in 1292.*

Why did the philosophic missionary choose Tunis as his first point of attack on the citadel of Islam? The answer is not far to seek.

Tunis, the present capital of the country of the same name, was founded by the Carthaginians, but first rose to importance under the Arab conquerors of North Africa, who gave it its present name; this comes from an Arabic root which signifies "to enjoy oneself." † Tunis was the usual port for those going from Kairwan (that Mecca of all North Africa) to Spain. In 1236, when the Hafsites displaced the Almohade dynasty, Abu Zakariyah made it his capital. When the fall of Bagdad left

* "Vita Prima," in "Acta Sanctorum," p. 664. Neander's "Memorials," p. 527, and Maclear, p. 361.

† *Al Muktataf*, February number, 1901, p. 79.

Islam without a titular head (1258) the Hafsites assumed the title of Prince of the Faithful and extended their rule from Tlemçen to Tripoli. The dignity of the Tunisian rulers was acknowledged even in Cairo and Mecca, and so strong were they in their government that, unaided, they held their own against repeated Frankish invasions. The Seventh Crusade ended disastrously before Tunis. Tunis was in fact the western center of the Moslem world in the thirteenth century. Where St. Louis failed as a king with his great army, Raymund Lull ventured on his spiritual crusade single-handed.

Tunis is on an isthmus between two salt lakes and is connected with the port of Goletta by an ancient canal. Two buildings still remain from the days of Lull: the mosque of Abu Zakariyah in the citadel, and the great Mosque of the Olive Tree in the center of the town. The ruins of

Carthage, famous center of early Latin Christianity, lie a few miles north of Goletta. Even now Tunis has a population of more than 125,000; it was much larger at the period of which we write.

Lull must have arrived at Goletta and thence proceeded to Tunis. His first step was to invite the Moslem *ulema* or literati to a conference, just as did Ziegenbalg in South India and John Wilson at Bombay. He announced that he had studied the arguments on both sides of the question and was willing to submit the evidences for Christianity and for Islam to a fair comparison. He even promised that, if *he* was convinced, he would embrace Islam. The Moslem leaders willingly responded to the challenge, and coming in great numbers to the conference set forth with much show of learning the miracle of the Koran and the doctrine of God's unity. After long, tho fruitless discussion, Lull advanced the

THE OLD CANAL BETWEEN GOLETTA AND TUNIS, NORTH AFRICA.

following propositions,* which are well calculated to strike the two weak points of Mohammedan monotheism: *lack of love in the being of Allah, and lack of harmony in His attributes.* "Every wise man must acknowledge that to be the true religion, which ascribed the greatest perfection to the Supreme Being, and not only conveyed the worthiest conception of all His attributes, His goodness, power, wisdom, and glory, but demonstrated the harmony and equality existing between them. Now *their* religion was defective in acknowledging only two active principles in the Deity, His will and His wisdom, while it left His goodness and greatness inoperative as tho they were indolent qualities and not called forth into active exercise. But the Christian faith could not be charged with this

* See them in full in "Vita Prima," p. 665, and "Liber Contemplationis in Deo," liv., 25–28, etc. Maclear gives the summary as quoted above, pp. 362, 363.

defect. In its doctrine of the Trinity it conveys the highest conception of the Deity, as the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit in one simple essence and nature. In the Incarnation of the Son it evinces the harmony that exists between God's goodness and His greatness; and in the person of Christ displays the true union of the Creator and the creature; while in His Passion which He underwent out of His great love for man, it sets forth the divine harmony of infinite goodness and condescension, even the condescension of Him who for us men, and our salvation, and restitution to our primeval state of perfection, underwent those sufferings and lived and died for man."

This style of argument, whatever else may be thought of it, is orthodox and evangelical to the core. It surprises one continually to see how little medieval theology and how very few Romish ideas there

are in Lull's writings. The offense of the cross is met everywhere in Lull's argument with Moslems. He never built a rickety bridge out of planks of compromise. His early Parliament of Religions was not built on the Chicago platform. The result proved it when persecution followed. There were some who accepted the truth * and others who turned fanatics. One Imam pointed out to the Sultan the danger likely to beset the law of Mohammed if such a zealous teacher were allowed freely to expose the errors of Islam, and suggested that Lull be imprisoned and put to death. He was cast into a dungeon, and was only saved from a worse fate by the intercession of a less prejudiced leader. This man praised his intellectual ability and reminded the ruler that a Moslem who

* "Disposuerat viros famosæ reputationis et alios quamplurimos ad baptismum quos toto animo affectabat deducere ad perfectum lumen fidei orthodoxæ."—"*Vita S. Lulli.*"

imitated the self-devotion of the prisoner in preaching Islam would be highly honored. The spectacle of a learned and aged Christian philosopher freely disputing the truth of the Koran in the midst of Tunis was indeed a striking example of moral courage in the dark ages. "This," says Dr. Smith, "was no careless Crusader cheered by martial glory or worldly pleasure. His was not even such a task as that which had called forth all the courage of the men who first won over Goth and Frank, Saxon and Slav. Raymund Lull preached Christ to a people with whom apostasy is death and who had made Christendom feel their prowess for centuries." Even his enemies were amazed at such boldness of devotion.

The death-sentence was changed to banishment from the country. Well might Lull rejoice that escape was possible, since the death-penalty on Christians was often

applied with barbarous cruelty.* Yet Lull was not ready to submit even to the sentence of banishment, and so leave his little group of converts to themselves without instruction or leadership.

The ship which had conveyed him to Tunis was on the point of returning to Genoa; he was placed on board and warned that if he ever made his way into the country again he would assuredly be stoned to death. Raymund Lull, however, felt that, with the apostles, it was not for him to obey their "threatening that he should speak henceforth to no man in this Name." Perhaps also he felt that his cowardice at Genoa when setting out demanded atonement. At any rate he managed to escape from the ship by strategy and to return unawares to the harbor town of Goletta in defiance of the edict of banishment. For

*See instances given in Muir's "Mameluke Dynasty," pp. 41, 48, 75, etc.

three long months the zealous missionary concealed himself like a wharf-rat and witnessed quietly for his Master. Such was the character of his versatile genius that we read how at this time, even, he composed a new scientific work!

But since his favorite missionary method of public discussion was entirely impossible, he finally embarked for Naples, where for several years he taught and lectured on his New Method. And later, as we have already seen, he revisited Rome.

It is evident from all of Lull's writings, as well as from the writings of his biographers, that his preaching to the Moslems was not so much polemical as apologetic. He always speaks of their philosophy and learning with respect. The very titles of his controversial writings prove the tact and love of his method. It was weak only in that it placed philosophy ahead of re-

velation, and therefore at times attempted to explain what must ever remain a mystery of faith.

As a theologian, we should remember, Lull was not a schoolman, nor did he ever receive instruction from the great teachers of his time. He was a self-taught man. The speculative and the practical were blended in his character and also in his system. "His speculative turn entered even into his enthusiasm for the cause of missions and his zeal as an apologist. His contests with the school of Averroes, and with the sect of that school which affirmed the irreconcilable opposition between faith and knowledge, would naturally lead him to make the relation subsisting between these two a matter of special investigation." *

Lull did not go to Naples because he had given up the battle. He went to bur-

* Neander: "Church History," iv., p. 426.

nish his weapons and to win recruits and to appeal to the popes to arm for a spiritual crusade against the strongest enemy of the kingdom of Christ. When, as we have seen in a previous chapter, these efforts proved nearly fruitless, he made other missionary journeys, and in 1307 was again on the shores of North Africa, fifteen years after his first banishment.

CHAPTER VII

OTHER MISSIONARY JOURNEYS

(A.D. 1301–1309)

"In an age of violence and faithlessness he was the apostle of heavenly love."—*George Smith.*

"Yea, so have I strived to preach the Gospel not where Christ was named, lest I should build upon another man's foundation."—*Paul.*

From 1301 to 1309 Lull made several missionary journeys which are the more remarkable if we consider that he was now sixty-six years old and if we think of the conditions of travel in the Middle Ages. The Mediterranean was beset with pirates and the Catalan Grand Company were fighting the Byzantines, while Genoa and Venice waged a war of commercial rivalry. The Knights of St. John were fighting for Rhodes and the rival popes were quarreling.

Travel by sea was dangerous and by land was full of hardship. In the Middle Ages the use of carriages was prohibited as tending to render vassals less fit for military service. As late as the sixteenth century it was accounted a reproach for men to ride in them, and only ladies of rank used such conveyances. Men of all grades and professions rode on horses or mules, and sometimes the monks and women on she-asses. Highway robbers infested the forests, and the danger from wild animals had not yet ceased even in the south of Europe.

In spite of all obstacles, however, we read that Lull "resolved to travel from place to place and preach wherever he might have opportunity." His purpose seems to have been to reach Jews and Christian heretics as well as Saracens.* After laboring for

* "Accessit ad regem Cypri affectu multo supplicans ei, quatenus quosdam infideles atque schismaticos videlicet Jacobinos, Nestorinos, Maronites, ad suam prædicationem necnon disputationem coarctaret venire."—*Maclear, p. 364 n.*

A VENETIAN GALLEY OF THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY.
(Copied from an Old Print.)

some time with the Jews in Majorca he sailed for Cyprus, landing at Famagosta, the chief port and fortress during the Genoese occupancy of the island. Cyprus at that time had a large population of Jews as well as of Christians and Moslems. Lull's preaching probably did not meet with success, for he soon left the island and, attended only by a single companion, crossed over to Syria and penetrated into Armenia, striving to reclaim the various Oriental sects to the orthodox faith.

Armenia, in the thirteenth century, was the name of a small principality to the north of Cilicia, under a native dynasty. With Cyprus it formed the last bulwark of Christianity against Islam in the East. For fear of being crushed by the Moslem powers the Armenians formed alliances with the Mongolian hordes that overran Asia and shared in the hostility and vengeance of the Mamelukes. Among this

brave remnant and bulwark of the faith that even to our own day has resisted unto blood the aggressive spirit of Islam, Lull labored for more than a year. It was in Armenia that he wrote his book entitled, "The things which a man ought to believe concerning God." Written in Latin, it was afterward translated for his Spanish countrymen into Catalan.*

From Cyprus Lull returned once more to Italy and France, where from 1302 to 1305 he traveled about lecturing in the universities and writing more books. Before we speak of his second journey to North Africa, a few words should set forth the character of his love and labors for the despised Jew.

Scattered throughout every kingdom and island of Europe, the Jews had attained in many lands power and influence both because of their learning and their wealth. In Spain under the Saracen

* See Helfferich, p. 86, note, and No. 225 in Bibliography A.

supremacy they enjoyed ample toleration, but, in proportion as the Moors were driven out and the Christians became powerful, the Jews suffered. As early as 1108 a riot broke out in Toledo against the Jews and the streets streamed with their blood. All through the twelfth and thirteenth centuries dark stories were told of the hostility of the Jews. It was said that they poisoned wells, stole the consecrated wafers to pierce them with a needle, and crucified infants at their Passover festivals and used their entrails for magic and secret rites! In 1253 the Jews were expelled from France and in 1290 from England. Many were put to death by the Inquisition, and there were very few Christians who dared to defend a Jew in court. A child could not be missed without some foul play being suspected on the part of a Jew. In vain a few pious monks protested against such accusations and tried

to befriend the outcast race. The whole spirit of the times was to class Jews and Moslems as infidels and as worthy of hatred and contempt. If possible, the hatred against the Jews was stronger in Spain than elsewhere. During the closing years of Lull's life there were already kindled in Spain the fires of bitter, cruel persecution which at last, under Torquemada, consumed the entire race of the Jews in that country.*

In the thirteenth century, in almost all lands, the Jews were compelled to wear an insulting badge, the so-called "Jew's hat," a yellow, funnel-shaped covering on the head, and a ring of red cloth on the breast. They were also compelled to herd together in the cities in the ghetto or Jewish quarter, which was often surrounded by a special wall.†

* Maclear, p. 381 *et seq.*

† Kurtz: "Church History," vol. ii., p. 23.

This despised, race however, was not outside the circle of Lull's love and interest. He wrote many books to prove to them the truth of the Christian religion.* He showed them that their expected Messiah was none other than Jesus of Nazareth. His great mission to the Saracens in Africa did not blind him to the needs of missions at home, and we read how, in 1305 and even earlier, he labored to convince the Jews in Majorca of their errors. In an age when violence and faithlessness were the only treatment which Jews expected from Christians, Raymund Lull was the apostle of love to them also.

There is a story or legend to the effect that, about this time, Lull paid a short visit to England and wrote a work on alchemy

* Of these works the following are extant: "Liber contra Judæos," "Liber de Reformatione Hebraica," and "Liber de Adventu Messiæ."

at St. Catharine's Hospital in London.* But we have no good testimony for this event, and the legend probably arose from confounding Lull the missionary with another Lull who was celebrated for his knowledge of alchemy. In the "Acta Sanctorum" a special article is devoted to prove that Lull never taught or practised the arts of medieval alchemy.

We now come to his journey to North Africa, on which he set out in 1307, probably from some port in France or from Genoa. This time he did not go to Tunis, but to Bugia. Some say he visited Hippone and Algiers as well. A special interest attaches to the town of Bugia in the story of Lull's life as it was here he preached to Moslems in his old age and here was the scene of his death.

Bugia, or Bougiah, is a fortified seaport

* See Maclear, p. 367, note, who quotes authorities for the legend.

THE HARBOR OF BUGIA, NORTH AFRICA.

in Algeria between Cape Carbon and Wady Sahil. Its most important buildings at present are the French Roman Catholic church, the hospital, the barracks, and the old Abdul Kadir fort, now used as a prison. At present it has but a small population, yet conducts a considerable trade in wax, grain, oranges, oil, and wine.

Bugia is a town of great antiquity; it is the Salda of the Romans and was first built by the Carthaginians. Genseric the Vandal surrounded it with walls. In the tenth century it became the chief commercial city of all North Africa under the Beni Hammad sultans. The Italian merchants of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries had numerous buildings of their own in the city, such as warehouses, baths, and churches. In the fifteenth century Bugia became a haunt for pirates; after that time it lost its prosperity and importance.

Our photograph shows the ruins of the

old gateway from the harbor, which dates from the eleventh century, and through which Lull must have entered the town.*

Altho there were Christian merchants in Bugia, they were a small minority, and were able to secure commercial freedom and favor only by avoiding all religious controversy and keeping their light carefully under a bushel. One can read in the history of the Mameluke dynasty, which ruled Egypt at this period, how Christians were regarded and treated by the Saracens. So far as possible the odious edict of Omar II. was reimposed and its intolerant rules enforced.

The Mameluke sultan Nasir, "a jealous, cruel, suspicious, and avaricious tyrant," extended his power over Tunis and Bugia from 1308–1320. He was fanatical as well as cruel, and one has only to read how Christian churches were destroyed, Christians burned or mutilated, and their prop-

* See page 140.

erty confiscated in the capital, to know what must have been the state of the provinces.*

Raymund Lull no sooner came to Bugia than he found his way to a public place, stood up boldly, and proclaimed in the Arabic language that Christianity was the only true faith, and expressed his willingness to prove this to the satisfaction of all. We know not what the exact nature of his argument was on this occasion, but it touched the character of Mohammed. A commotion ensued and many hands were lifted to do him violence.

The mufti, or chief of the Moslem clergy, rescued him and expostulated with him on his madness in thus exposing himself to peril.

"Death," Lull replied, "has no terrors whatever for a sincere servant of Christ who is laboring to bring souls to a knowl-

* Sir William Muir: "The Mameluke Dynasty," pp. 67–87.

edge of the truth." After this the mufti, who must have been well versed in Arabian philosophy, challenged Lull for proofs of the superiority of Christ's religion over that of Mohammed.

One of Lull's arguments, given in his controversial books, consists in presenting to the Saracens the Ten Commandments as the perfect law of God, and then showing from their own books that Mohammed violated every one of these divine precepts. Another favorite argument of Lull with Moslems was to portray the seven cardinal virtues and the seven deadly sins, only to show subsequently how bare Islam was of the former and how full of the latter! Such arguments are to be used with care even in the twentieth century; we can imagine their effect on the Moslems in the north of Africa in Lull's day.

Persecution followed. He was flung

into a dungeon and for half a year remained a close prisoner, befriended only by some merchants of Genoa and Spain, who took pity on the aged champion of their common faith.

Meanwhile riches, wives, high place, and power were offered the Christian philosopher if only he would abjure his faith and turn Moslem. This was Lull's reply, from the depth of his dungeon, to all their enticements: "Ye have for me wives and all sorts of worldly pleasure if I accept the law of Mohammed? Alas! ye offer a poor prize, as all your earthly goods can not purchase eternal glory. I, however, promise you, if ye will forsake your false and devilish law, which was spread by sword and force alone, and if ye accept my belief, Eternal Life, for the Christian faith was propagated by preaching and by the blood of holy martyrs. Therefore I advise you to become Christians even now, and so

obtain everlasting glory and escape the pains of hell." * Such words, from the lips of a man seventy-three years old, in perfect command of the Arabic tongue, learned in the wisdom of the Arabian philosophy, and from whose eyes flashed earnest zeal for the truth, must have come with tremendous force.

While he tarried in prison, Lull proposed that both parties should write a defense of their faith. He was busy fulfilling his part of the agreement when a sudden command of the governor of Bugia directed that he be deported. Whether the reason of this command was the *results* that followed Lull's preaching, we know not. His biographers indicate that Lull was visited in prison by Moslems who again and again urged him to apostatize. "During his imprisonment they plied him for six months

* Keller: "Geisteskampf u. z. w.," pp. 59, 60. Maclear, p. 365.

with all the sensual temptations of Islam." *

This must have been a bitter experience for the missionary in recalling the sins of his youth and the vision of his early manhood.

"But I amid the torture and the taunting—
I have had Thee!
Thy hand was holding my hand fast and faster,
Thy voice was close to me;
And glorious eyes said, 'Follow Me, thy Master,
Smile, as I smile thy faithfulness to see.'"

Raymund Lull left Bugia practically a prisoner, since the Moslems did not wish to have repeated the incident that followed his embarking at Tunis. During the voyage, however, a storm arose and the vessel was almost wrecked off the Italian coast near Pisa. Here he was rescued and received with all respect by those who had heard of his fame as a philosopher and

* "Promittebant ei uxores, honores, domum, et pecuniam copiosam."—"*Vita Prima*," chap. iv.

missionary. From Pisa, Lull went by way of Genoa to Paris; of his work there and at the Council of Vienne we have already given an account.

The prologue of John's Gospel in Catalan, the language of Lull:

LO EVANGELI DE JESU-CHRIST

SEGONS

SANT JOAN.

CAP. 1.

Existencia eterna y divinitat del Verb: sa encarnació: testimoni de Joan Baptista: vocació dels primers deixebles.

EN lo principi era lo Verb, y lo Verb era ab Deu, y lo Verb era Deu.

2 Ell era en lo principi ab Deu.

3 Per ell foren fetas totas las cosas, y sens ell ninguna cosa fou feta de lo que ha estat fet.

4 En ell era la vida, y la vida era la llum dels homes.

5 Y la llum resplandeix en las tenebras, y las tenebras no la comprengueren.

6 Hi hagué un home enviat de Deu que s'anomenava Joan.

7 Est vingué *á servir* de testimoni, pera testificar de la llum, á fi de que tots cregnessen per medi d'ell.

8 No era ell la llum, sinó *enviat* pera donar testimoni de la llum.

9 *Aquell* era la verdadera llum,

THE TOWER AND TOWN OF BUGIA, NORTH AFRICA.

CHAPTER VIII

RAYMUND LULL AS PHILOSOPHER AND AUTHOR

"He was at once a philosophical systematizer and an analytic chemist, a skilful mariner and a successful propagator of Christianity,"—*Humboldt's* "*Cosmos*," ii., 629.

"Of making many books there is no end, and much study is a weariness of the flesh."—*Ecclesiastes*.

It will be difficult in one short chapter to crowd an account of Lull's philosophy, which for two centuries after his death perplexed the genius of Europe, and to enumerate even a small number of the vast library of books which have Lull for their author. One does not know which to admire most—the versatile character of the genius, or the prodigious industry of the author.

Raymund Lull was from his youth a

master of Catalan and wrote in it long before his conversion. Of his works in that language there exists no complete catalog. One of Lull's biographers states that the books written by Lull number four thousand! In the first published edition of his works (1721), two hundred and eighty-two titles are given; yet only forty-five of these, when printed, took up ten large folio volumes. To understand something of the scope and ambition of this genius-intellect, one must read the partial list of his books given in the bibliography at the close of this volume. Lull was a philosopher, a poet, a novelist, a writer of proverbs, a keen logician, a deep theologian, and a fiery controversialist. There was not a science cultivated in his age to which he did not add. The critical historian Winsor states that in 1295 Lull wrote a handbook on navigation which was not superseded by a better until after Colum-

bus. Dr. George Smith credits Lull with the independent invention of the mariner's compass; and not without reason, for we find repeated references to the magnetic needle in his devotional books.* He wrote a treatise on "the weight of the elements" and their shape; on the sense of smell; on astronomy, astrology, arithmetic, and geometry. One of his books is entitled, "On the squaring and triangulation of the circle." In medieval medicine, jurisprudence, and metaphysics he was equally at home. His seven volumes on medicine include one book on the use of the mind in curing the sick! And another on the effect of climate on diseases.

*See "Liber de Miraculis Cœli et Mundi," part vi., on Iman. Calamita.

"As the needle naturally turns to the north when it is touched by the magnet so it is fitting," etc.—"*Liber Contemplationis in Deo.*"

In his treatise "Fenix des les Maravillas del Orbes," published in 1286, he again alludes to the use of the mariner's compass. See Humboldt: "Cosmos," ii., 630 n.

He was a dogmatic theologian, and wrote sixty-three volumes of theological discussion, some of which are so abstruse as to produce doubt whether their author earned the title of "Doctor Illuminatus," given him by his contemporaries. Other titles among his theological writings there are which awaken curiosity, such as: "On the Most Triune Trinity"; "On the Form of God"; "On the Language of the Angels," etc.

Among the sixty-two books of meditation and devotion which are preserved in the lists of Lull's writings, there are none on the saints, and only six treat of the Virgin Mary. This is one of the many proofs in Lull's books that he was more of a Catholic than a Romanist, and that he esteemed Christ more than all the saints of the papal calendar. One of his books of devotion is entitled, "On the One Hundred Names of God," and was evidently

prepared for the use of Moslems who were seeking the light.*

Raymund Lull wrote or collected three books of proverbs, one of which contains six thousand popular sayings and maxims. Here are a few out of many beautiful gems to be found in this collection:

"Deum dilige, ut ipsum timeas."
"Pax est participatio sine labore."
"Deus exemplum dedit de sua unitate in natura."
"Fortitudo est vigor cordis contra maliciam."
"Divitiæ sunt copiositates voluntatis."
"Prædestinatio est scire Dei qui scit homines."
"Deus adeo magnum habet recolere quod nihil obliviscitur."

Among Lull's works there are twenty on logic and metaphysics. One of the latter has the title, "On the Greatness and the Littleness of Man." Among his sermons and books on preaching there is only one commentary. That, in accord with Lull's

* According to Moslem teaching, Allah has one hundred beautiful names. The Moslem's rosary has one hundred beads, and to count these names is a devotional exercise.

mission and character, is a commentary on the prolog of John's Gospel.

Of making many controversial books there was no end in the days of Lull. His writings in this department, however, are not, as are those of his contemporaries, against heretics to condemn *them*, with their errors, to ecclesiastical perdition. Even the titles of his controversial writings show his irenic spirit and his desire to convert rather than to convince. All through his books there runs the spirit of earnest devotion; even his natural philosophy is full of the world to come and its glories. At the end of one of his books he bursts out with this prayer: "O Lord, my help! till this work is completed thy servant can not go to the land of the Saracens to glorify Thy glorious name, for I am so occupied with this book which I undertake for Thine honor that I can think of nothing else. For this reason I beseech Thee for that

grace, that Thou wouldst stand by me that I may soon finish it and speedily depart to die the death of a martyr out of love to Thee, if it shall please Thee to count me worthy of it."

In 1296 he concluded a work on the logic of Christianity with this seraph-song to the key of world-wide missions: "Let Christians consumed with burning love for the cause of faith only consider that since nothing has power to withstand truth, they can by God's help and His might bring infidels back to the faith; so that the precious name of Jesus, which in most regions is still unknown to most men, may be proclaimed and adored." And again: "As my book is finished on the vigils of John the Baptist, who was the herald of the light, and pointed to Him who is the true light, may it please our Lord to kindle a new light of the world which may guide unbelievers to conversion, that with us they

may meet Christ, to whom be honor and praise world without end." This is not the language of pious rhetoric, but the passionate outcry of a soul hungry for the coming of the Kingdom.

Lull was a popular author. He wrote not only in learned Latin, but in the vernacular of his native land. Noble calls him the Moody of the thirteenth century. He tried to reach the masses. His influence on popular religious ideas in Spain was so great, through his Catalan hymns and proverbs and catechisms, that Helfferich compares him to Luther and calls him a reformer before the Reformation.* He made the study of theology popular by putting its commonplaces into verse, so that the laity could learn by heart the summary of the Catholic faith and meet Mos-

* "Der Protestantismus in Spanien zur Zeit der Reformation." Prot. Monatsblätter v. H. Gelzer, 1856, S. 133–168. Also his "Raymund Lull, u. z. w.," pp. 152–154.

lems and Jews with ready-made arguments. Scholasticism was for the clergy; the "Lullian method" was intended for the laity as well. Raymund Lull had become discontented with the methods of scientific inquiry commonly in use, and so set himself to construct his "Ars Major," or Greater Art, which by a series of mechanical contrivances and a system of mnemonics was adapted to answer any question on any topic. This new philosophy is the keynote of most of Lull's treatises. All his philosophical works are but different explanations and phases of the "Ars Major." In his other books he seldom fails to call attention to this universal key of knowledge which the great art supplies.

What is the method of Lull's philosophy? The most complete account and the most luminous explanation of its abstruse perplexities is given by Prantl in his "His-

tory of Logic" (vol. iii., 145–177). This is a summary of it:

The reasonableness and demonstrability of Christianity is the real basis of his great method. Nothing, Lull held, interfered more with the spread of Christian truth than the attempt of its advocates to represent its doctrines as undemonstrable mysteries. The very difference between Christ and Antichrist lies in the fact that the former can *prove* His truth by miracles, etc., while the latter can not. The glory of Christianity, Lull argues, is that it does not maintain the undemonstrable, but simply the supersensuous. It is not *against* reason, but above unsanctified reason. The demonstration, however, which Lull seeks is not that of ordinary logic. He says that we require a method which will reason not only from effect to cause, or from cause to effect, but *per æquiparantiam*, that is, *by showing that contrary attributes can exist*

together in one subject. This method must be real, and not altogether formal or subjective. It must deal with the things themselves, and not merely with second intentions.

Lull's great art goes beyond logic and metaphysic: it provides a universal art of discovery, and contains the formulæ to which every demonstration in every science can be reduced—being, in fact, a sort of cyclopedia of categories and syllogisms. Lull's "Ars Major" is a tabulation of the different points of view from which propositions may be framed about objects. It is a mnemonic, or, rather, a mechanical contrivance for ascertaining all possible categories that apply to any possible proposition. Just as by knowing the typical terminations or conjugations of Arabic grammar, for example, we can inflect and conjugate any word; so, Lull reasons, by a knowledge of the different types of exist-

ence and their possible relations and combinations we should possess knowledge of the whole of nature and of all truth as a system.

"The great art, accordingly, begins by laying down an alphabet according to which the nine letters from B to K stand for the different kinds of substances and attributes. Thus in the series of substances B stands for God, C, angel, D, heaven, E, man, and so on; in the series of absolute attributes B represents goodness, D, duration, C, greatness; or, again, in the nine questions of scholastic philosophy B stands for *utrum*, C, for *quid*, D, for *de quo*, etc." By manipulating these letters in such a way as will show the relationship of different objects and predicates you exercise the "new art." This manipulation is effected by the help of certain so-called "figures" or geometrical arrangements. Their construction differs in various books of Lull's

philosophy, but their general character is the same. Circles and other figures are divided into sections by lines or colors, and then marked by Lull's symbolical letters so as to show all the possible combinations of which the letters are capable. For example, one arrangement represents the possible combinations of the attributes of God; another, the possible conditions of the soul, and so on. These figures are further fenced about by various definitions and rules, and their use is further specified by various "*evacuations*" and "*multiplications*" which show us how to exhaust all the possible combinations and sets of questions which the terms of our proposition admit. When so "*multiplied*," the "fourth figure" is, in Lull's language, that by which other sciences can be most readily and aptly acquired; and it may accordingly be taken as no unfair specimen of Lull's method. This "fourth figure" is simply

an arrangement of three concentric circles each divided into nine sections, B, C, D, etc., and so constructed of pasteboard that when the upper and smaller circle remains fixed the two lower and outer revolve around it. Taking the letters in the sense of the series we are then able, by revolving the outer circles, to find out the possible relationships between different conceptions and elucidate the agreement or disagreement that exists between them. Meanwhile the middle circle, in similar fashion, gives us the intermediate terms by which they are to be connected or disconnected.

This Lullian method, of a wheel within a wheel, seems at first as perplexing as the visions of Ezekiel and as puerile as the automatic book-machine in "Gulliver's Travels." But it would be unfair to say that Lull supposed "thinking could be reduced to a mere rotation of pasteboard circles," or that his art enabled men "to talk

without judgment of that which we do not know." Lull sought to give not a compendium of knowledge but a method of investigation. He sought a more scientific method for philosophy than the dialectic of his contemporaries. In his conception of a universal method and his application of the vernacular languages to philosophy he was the herald of Bacon himself. In his demand for a *reasonable* religion he was beyond his age. And, in applying this system, weak tho it was, to the conversion of infidels, he proved himself the first missionary philosopher. He perceived the possibilities (tho not the limitations) of comparative theology and the science of logic as weapons for the missionary.

Nothing will so clearly illustrate the versatile and brilliant character of Lull's genius as to turn from his "Ars Major" to his religious novel, "Blanquerna," the great allegory of the Middle Ages, and the pred-

ecessor of Bunyan's "Pilgrim's Progress." * In fact, Raymund Lull was the first European who wrote a religious story in the vernacular. The romances of the days of chivalry were doubtless well known to him before his conversion, and what was more natural than that the missionary knight should write the romance of his new crusade of love against the Saracens? "Blanquerna" is an allegory in four books. Its sub-title states that it is "a mirror of morals in all classes of society, and treats of matrimony, religion, prelates, the papacy, and the hermit's life." It is the story of the pilgrimage of Enast, the hero, who marries Aloma, the daughter of a wealthy widow. Their only child, Blanquerna, desires to be a monk, but falls in love with a beautiful and pious maiden, Doña Cana by name.

* Helfferich, pp. 111–122. He holds that the allegory was first written in Arabic and then put into Catalan. Several manuscripts of it are extant in the archives of Palma, etc. It was first printed in 1521.

Both, however, decide to remain ascetics. Blanquerna enters a monastery and his fair sweetheart turns nun. The allegory relates the experiences of these characters in their different surroundings—the pilgrim, the monk, and the abbess. To borrow words in another book from Lull himself, "we see the pilgrim traveling away in distant lands to seek Thee, tho Thou art so near that every man, if he would, might find Thee in his own house and chamber. The pilgrims are so deceived by false men, whom they meet in taverns and churches, that many of them when they return home show themselves to be far worse than they were when they set out." Doña Cana, the abbess, disputes with her sister nuns the authority of the priest to bind the conscience, and even draws in question some of the doctrines of the Church! The various characters bear allegorical names. When Blanquerna reaches Rome the Pope

has a court-jester called "Raymund the Fool," who is none other than Lull himself, and who tells the cardinals some rare truths. The four cardinals bear the names, "We-give-thee-thanks," "Lord-God-heavenly-King," "We-glorify-Thee," and "Thou-only-art-Holy"! Blanquerna finally becomes Pope and uses his authority in sending out a vast army of monk-missionaries to convert Jews and Mohammedans.

In various parts of the book songs of praise and devotion occur, while the missionary idea is never absent. This remarkable allegory, as well as many other works of Lull, deserves to be rescued from oblivion. The arrival of Blanquerna before the door of the Enchanted Castle, over whose gateway the Ten Commandments are written, and, within, the solemn conclave of graybeards who discourse on the vanity of the world, are two scenes that show a genius

equal to that of John Bunyan. There are other resemblances between these two pilgrims rescued from the City of Destruction and describing their own experiences in allegory; but to present them here would make this chapter too lengthy. Who would know more of Lull the philosopher and the author is referred to the bibliography and to the writings themselves.

CHAPTER IX

HIS LAST MISSIONARY JOURNEY AND HIS MARTYRDOM

"As a hungry man makes despatch and takes large morsels on account of his great hunger, so Thy servant feels a great desire to die that he may glorify Thee. He hurries day and night to complete his work in order that he may give up his blood and his tears to be shed for Thee."—*Lull's "Liber Contemplationis in Deo."*

"Is not devotion always blind? That a furrow be fecund it must have blood and tears such as Augustine called the blood of the soul."—*Sabatier.*

The scholastics of the Middle Ages taught that there were five methods of acquiring knowledge—observation, reading, listening, conversation, and meditation. But they left out the most important method, namely, that by suffering. Lull's philosophy had taught him much, but it was in the school of suffering that he grew

into a saint. Love, not learning, is the key to his character. The philosopher was absorbed in the missionary. The last scene of Lull's checkered life is not at Rome nor Paris nor Naples in the midst of his pupils, but in Africa, on the very shores from which he was twice banished.

At the council of Vienne (as we saw in Chapter V.) Lull had rejoiced to see some portion of the labors of his life brought to fruition. When the deliberations of the council were over and the battle for instruction in Oriental languages in the universities of Europe had been won, it might have been thought that he would have been willing to enjoy the rest he had so well deserved. Raymund Lull was now seventy-nine years old, and the last few years of his life must have told heavily even on so strong a frame and so brave a spirit as he possessed. His pupils and friends naturally desired that he should end his days

in the peaceful pursuit of learning and the comfort of companionship.

Such, however, was not Lull's wish. His ambition was to die as a missionary and not as a teacher of philosophy. Even his favorite "Ars Major" had to give way to that *ars maxima* expressed in Lull's own motto, "He that lives by the life can not die."

This language reminds one of Paul's Second Epistle to Timothy, where the Apostle tells us that he too was now "already being offered, and that the time of his departure was at hand." In Lull's "Contemplations" we read: "As the needle naturally turns to the north when it is touched by the magnet, so is it fitting, O Lord, that Thy servant should turn to love and praise and serve Thee; seeing that out of love to him Thou wast willing to endure such grievous pangs and sufferings." And again: "Men are wont to die, O Lord,

from old age, the failure of natural warmth and excess of cold; but thus, if it be Thy will, Thy servant would not wish to die; he would prefer to die in the glow of love, even as Thou wast willing to die for him." *

Other passages in Lull's writings of this period, such as the words at the head of this chapter, show that he longed for the crown of martyrdom. If we consider the age in which Lull lived and the race from which he sprang, this is not surprising. Even before the thirteenth century, thousands of Christians died as martyrs to the faith in Spain; many of them cruelly tortured by the Moors for blaspheming Mohammed.

Among the Franciscan order a mania for martyrdom prevailed. Every friar who

* "Liber Contemplationis," cxxix., 19; "Vita Secunda," cap. iv., and "Liber Contemplationis," cxxx., 27. Cf. Maclear, p. 367.

was sent to a foreign shore craved to win the heavenly palm and wear the purple passion-flower. The spirit of the Crusades was in possession of the Church and its leaders, even after the sevenfold failure of its attempts to win by the sword. Bernard of Clairvaux wrote to the Templars: "The soldier of Christ is safe when he slays, safer when he dies. When he slays it profits Christ; when he dies it profits himself."

Much earlier than the end of the Middle Ages the doctrines of martyrdom had taken hold of the Church. Stories of the early martyrs were the popular literature to fan the flame of enthusiasm. A martyr's death was supposed, on the authority of many Scripture passages,* to cancel all sins of the past life, to supply the place of baptism,

* Luke xii. 50; Mark x. 39; Matt. x. 39; Matt. v. 10–12. Compare the teaching of Roman Catholic commentaries on these passages.

and to secure admittance at once to Paradise without a sojourn in Purgatory. One has only to read Dante, the graphic painter of society in the Middle Ages, to see this illustrated. Above all, it was taught that martyrs had the beatific vision of the Savior (even as did St. Stephen), and that their dying prayers were sure of hastening the coming of Christ's kingdom.

But the violent passions so prevalent and the universal hatred of Jews and infidels made men forget that "not the *blood* but the cause makes the martyr."

Raymund Lull was ahead of his age in his aims and in his methods, but he was not and could not be altogether uninfluenced by his environment. The spirit of chivalry was not yet dead in the knight who forty-eight years before had seen a vision of the Crucified and had been knighted by the pierced hands for a spiritual crusade. Like Heber he felt:

"The Son of God goes forth to war,
A kingly crown to gain;
His blood-red banner streams afar
Who follows in His train?

"Who best can drink His cup of wo
Triumphant over pain;
Who patient bears His cross below
He follows in His train.

. . . . . .

"A glorious band, the chosen few
On whom the Spirit came;
Twelve valiant saints, their hope they knew
And mocked the cross and flame.

"They climbed the steep ascent of heaven
Through peril, toil, and pain;
O God, to us may grace be given
To follow in their train."

The dangers and difficulties that made Lull shrink back from his journey at Genoa in 1291 only urged him forward to North Africa once more in 1314. His love had not grown cold, but burned the brighter "with the failure of natural warmth and the weakness of old age." He longed not only for the martyr's crown, but also once more to see his little band of believ-

ers. Animated by these sentiments, he crossed over to Bugia on August 14, and for nearly a whole year labored secretly among a little circle of converts, whom on his previous visits he had won over to the Christian faith.

Both to these converts, and to any others who had boldness to come and join them in religious conversation, Lull continued to expatiate on the one theme of which he never seemed to tire, the inherent superiority of Christianity to Islam. He saw that the real strength of Islam is not in the second clause of its all too brief creed, but in its first clause. The Mohammedan conception of the unity and the attributes of God is a great half-truth. Their whole philosophy of religion finds its pivot in their wrong idea of absolute monism in the Deity. We do not find Lull wasting arguments to disprove Mohammed's mission, but presenting facts to show that Mo-

hammed's conception of God was deficient and untrue. If for nothing else he deserves the honor, yet this great principle of apologetics in the controversy with Islam, as first stated by Lull, marks him the great missionary to Moslems.

"If Moslems," he argued, "according to their law affirm that God loved man because He created him, endowed him with noble faculties, and pours His benefits upon him, then the Christians according to their law affirm the same. But inasmuch as the Christians believe more than this, and affirm that God so loved man that He was willing to become man, to endure poverty, ignominy, torture, and death for his sake, which the Jews and Saracens do not teach concerning Him; therefore is the religion of the Christians, which thus reveals a Love beyond all other love, superior to that of those which reveals it only in an inferior degree." Islam is a

THE OLD GATEWAY OF BUGIA.

(Eleventh Century.)

loveless religion. Raymund Lull believed and proved that Love could conquer it. The Koran denies the Incarnation, and so remains ignorant of the true character not only of the Godhead, but of God (Matt. xi. 27).

At the time when Lull visited Bugia and was imprisoned, the Moslems were already replying to his treatises and were winning converts from among Christians. He says: "The Saracens write books for the destruction of Christianity; I have myself seen such when I was in prison. . . . For one Saracen who becomes a Christian, ten Christians and more become Mohammedans. It becomes those who are in power to consider what the end will be of such a state of things. God will not be mocked." *

Lull did not think, apparently, that lack of speedy results was an argument for

* Smith: "Short History of Christian Missions," pp. 107, 108.

abandoning the work of preaching to Moslems the unsearchable riches of Christ.

> "High failure, towering far o'er low success,
> Firm faith, unwarped by others' faithlessness,
> Which, like a day brightest at eventide,
> Seemed never half so deathless, till he died."

For over ten months the aged missionary dwelt in hiding, talking and praying with his converts and trying to influence those who were not yet persuaded. His one weapon was the argument of God's love in Christ, and his "shield of faith" was that of medieval art which so aptly symbolizes the doctrine of the Holy Trinity. So lovingly and so unceasingly did Lull urge the importance of this doctrine that we have put the *scutum fidei* on the cover of this biography.*

Of the length, breadth, depth, and height of the love of Christ, all Lull's devotional writings are full.

* Copied from an old woodcut of the *scutum fidei* in the south transept of Thame Church, Oxfordshire.

At length, weary of seclusion, and longing for martyrdom, he came forth into the open market and presented himself to the people as the same man whom they had once expelled from their town. It was Elijah showing himself to a mob of Ahabs! Lull stood before them and threatened them with divine wrath if they still persisted in their errors. He pleaded with love, but spoke plainly the whole truth. The consequences can be easily anticipated. Filled with fanatic fury at his boldness, and unable to reply to his arguments, the populace seized him, and dragged him out of the town; there by the command, or at least the connivance, of the king, he was stoned on the 30th of June, 1315.

Whether Raymund Lull died on that day or whether, still alive, he was rescued by a few of his friends, is disputed by his biographers. According to the latter idea his friends carried the wounded saint to

the beach and he was conveyed in a vessel to Majorca, his birthplace, only to die ere he reached Palma. According to other accounts, which seem to me to carry more authority, Lull did not survive the stoning by the mob, but died, like Stephen, outside the city. Also in this case, devout men carried Lull to his burial and brought the body to Palma, Majorca, where it was laid to rest in the church of San Francisco.

An elaborate tomb was afterward built in this church as a memorial to Lull. Its date is uncertain, but it is probably of the fourteenth century. Above the elaborately carved panels of marble are the shields or coat-of-arms of Raymund Lull; on either side are brackets of metal work to hold candles. The upper horizontal panel shows Lull in repose, in the garb of a Franciscan, with a rosary on his girdle, and his hands in the attitude of prayer.

May we not believe that this was his

TOMB OF RAYMUND LULL IN CHURCH OF SAN FRANCISCO, PALMA, MAJORCA.

attitude when the angry mob caught up stones, and crash followed crash against the body of the aged missionary? Perhaps not only the manner of his death but his last prayer was like that of Stephen the first martyr.

It was the teaching of the medieval Church that there are three kinds of martyrdom: The first both in will and in deed, which is the highest; the second, in will but not in deed; the third, in deed but not in will. St. Stephen and the whole army of those who were martyred by fire or sword for their testimony are examples of the first kind of martyrdom. St. John the Evangelist and others like him who died in exile or old age as witnesses to the truth but without violence, are examples of the second kind. The Holy Innocents, slain by Herod, are an example of the third kind. Lull verily was a martyr in will and in deed. Not only at Bugia, when he

fell asleep, but for all the years of his long life after his conversion, he was a witness to the Truth, ever ready "to fill up that which is behind of the afflictions of Christ" in his flesh "for His body's sake which is the Church."

To be stoned to death while preaching the love of Christ to Moslems—that was the fitting end for such a life. "Lull," says Noble, "was the greatest of medieval missionaries, perhaps the grandest of all missionaries from Paul to Carey and Livingstone. His career suggests those of Jonah the prophet, Paul the missionary, and Stephen the martyr. Tho his death was virtually self-murder, its heinousness is lessened by his homesickness for heaven, his longing to be with Christ, and the sublimity of his character and career."

CHAPTER X

"WHO BEING DEAD YET SPEAKETH"

"*He who loves not lives not; he who lives by the Life can not die.*"—*Raymund Lull.*

"One step farther, but some slight response from his church or his age, and Raymund Lull would have anticipated William Carey by exactly seven centuries."—*George Smith.*

NEANDER does not hesitate to compare Raymund Lull with Anselm, whom he resembled in possessing the threefold talents uncommon among men and so seldom found in one character: namely, a powerful intellect, a loving heart, and efficiency in practical things. If we acknowledge that Lull possessed these three divine gifts, we at once place him at the front as the true type of what a missionary to Moslems should be to-day.

He, whom Helfferich calls "the most remarkable figure of the Middle Ages," being dead yet speaketh. The task which he first undertook is still before the Church unaccomplished. The modern missionary to Islam can see a reflection of his own trials of faith, difficulties, temptations, hopes, and aspirations in the story of Lull. Only with his spirit of self-sacrifice and enthusiasm can one gird for the conflict with this Goliath of the Philistines, who for thirteen centuries has defied the armies of the Living God.

Lull's writings contain glorious watchwords for the spiritual crusade against Islam in the twentieth century. How up-to-date is this prayer which we find at the close of one of his books: "Lord of heaven, Father of all times, when Thou didst send Thy Son to take upon Him human nature, He and His apostles lived in outward peace with Jews, Pharisees, and other men; for

never by outward violence did they capture or slay any of the unbelievers, or of those who persecuted them. Of this outward peace they availed themselves to bring the erring to the knowledge of the truth and to a communion of spirit with themselves. *And so after Thy example should Christians conduct themselves toward Moslems; but since that ardor of devotion which glowed in apostles and holy men of old no longer inspires us, love and devotion through almost all the world have grown cold, and therefore do Christians expend their efforts far more in the outward than in the spiritual conflict.*"

England's war in the Sudan cost more in men and money a hundred times than all missions to Moslems in the past century! Yet the former was only to put down a Moslem usurper by fire and sword; the latter represents the effort of Christendom to convert over two hundred mil-

lions of those who are in the darkness of Islam.

There was a thousandfold more enthusiasm in the dark ages to wrest an empty sepulcher from the Saracens than there is in our day to bring them the knowledge of a living Savior. Six hundred years after Raymund Lull we are still "playing at missions" as far as Mohammedanism is concerned. For there are more mosques in Jerusalem than there are missionaries in all Arabia; and more *millions* of Moslems unreached in China than the number of missionary societies that work for Moslems in the whole world!

In North Africa, where Lull witnessed to the truth, missions to Moslems were not begun again until 1884. Now there is again daybreak in Morocco, Tripoli, Tunis, Algiers, and Egypt. Yet how feeble are the efforts in all Moslem lands compared with the glorious opportunities! How

vast is the work still before us, six hundred years after Lull!

According to recent and exhaustive statistics, the population of the Mohammedan world is placed at 259,680,672.* Of these 11,515,402 are in Europe, 171,278,008 are in Asia, 19,446 are in Australasia, 76,818,253 are in Africa, and 49,563 are in North and South America. Three per cent. of Europe's population is Moslem; Asia has 18 per cent., and Africa 37 per cent. Out of every 100 souls in the world 16 are followers of Mohammed. Islam's power extends in many lands, from Canton to Sierra Leone, and from Zanzibar to the Caspian Sea.

Islam is growing to-day even faster in some lands than it did in the days of Lull. And yet in other lands, such as European Turkey, Caucasia, Syria, Palestine, and

* Dr. Hubert Jansen's "Verbreitung des Islams," Berlin, 1897; a marvel of research and accuracy.

Turkestan, the number of Moslems is decreasing. In Lull's day the empire of Moslem faith and Moslem politics nearly coincided. Nowhere was there real liberty, and all the doors of access seemed barred. Now five-sixths of the Moslem world are accessible to foreigners and missionaries; but not one-sixtieth has ever been occupied by missions. There are no missions to the Moslems of all Afghanistan, Western Turkestan, Western, Central, and Southern Arabia, Southern Persia, and vast regions in North Central Africa.

Mission statistics of direct work for Moslems are an apology for apathy rather than an index of enterprise. The Church forgot its heritage of Lull's great example and was ages behind time. To Persia, one thousand years after Islam, the first missionary came; Arabia waited twelve centuries; in China Islam has eleven hundred years the start. This neglect appears the

more inexcusable if we consider the great opportunities of to-day. More than 125,000,000 Moslems are now under Christian rulers. The keys to every gateway in the Moslem world are to-day in the political grasp of Christian Powers, with the exception of Mecca and Constantinople. Think only, for example, of Gibraltar, Algiers, Cairo, Tunis, Khartum, Batoum, Aden, and Muskat, not to speak of India and the farther East. It is impossible to enforce the laws relating to renegades from Islam under the flag of the "infidel." One could almost visit Mecca as easily as Lull did Tunis were the same spirit of martyrdom alive among us that inspired the pioneer of Palma. The journey from London to Bagdad can now be accomplished with less hardship and in less time than it must have taken Lull to go from Paris to Bugia.

How much more promising too is the

condition of Islam to-day! The philosophical disintegration of the system began very early, but has grown more rapidly in the past century than in all the twelve that preceded. The strength of Islam is to sit still, to forbid thought, to gag reformers, to abominate progress. But the Wahabis "drew a bow at a venture" and smote their king "between the joints of the harness." Their exposure of the unorthodoxy of Turkish Mohammedanism set all the world thinking. Abd-ul-Wahâb meant to reform Islam by digging for the original foundations. The result was that they now must prop up the house! In India they are apologizing for Mohammed's morals and subjecting the Koran to higher criticism. In Egypt prominent Moslems advocate abolishing the veil. In Persia the Babi movement has undermined Islam everywhere. In Constantinople they are trying to put new wine into the old skins

by carefully diluting the wine; the New Turkish party is making the rent of the old garment worse by its patchwork politics.

In addition to all this, the Bible now speaks the languages of Islam, and is everywhere preparing the way for the conquest of the cross. Even in the Moslem world, and in spite of all hindrances, "it is daybreak everywhere." The great lesson of Lull's life is that our weapons against Islam should never be carnal. Love, and love alone, will conquer. But it must be an all-sacrificing, an all-consuming love—a love that is faithful unto death.

"Taking him all in all," says Noble, "Lull's myriad gifts and graces make him the evening and the morning star of missions." He presaged the setting of mediæval missions and heralded the dawn of the Reformation. The story of his life and labors for Moslems in the dark ages is a

challenge of faith to us who live in the light of the twentieth century to follow in the footsteps of Raymund Lull and win the whole Mohammedan world for Christ.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

A. Books Written by Raymund Lull

[One of Lull's biographers states that the works of Lull numbered four thousand. Many of these have been lost. Of his writings in Latin, Catalonian, and Arabic it is said that one thousand were extant in the fifteenth century. Only two hundred and eighty-two were known in 1721 to Salzinger of Mainz, and yet he included only forty-five of these in his collected edition of Lull's works in ten volumes. It is disputed whether volumes seven and eight actually appeared. Some of Lull's unpublished works are to be found in the Imperial Library, the libraries of the Arsenal and Ste. Genevieve at Paris, also in the libraries of Angers, Amiens, the Escurial, etc. Most of his books were written in Latin; some first in Catalonian and then translated by his pupils, others only in the Catalonian or in Arabic. In the "Acta Sanctorum," vol. xxvii., page 640 *et seq.*, we find the following classified catalog of *three hundred and twenty-one books* by Raymund Lull.]

§ I. *Books on General Arts.*

1. Ars generalis.
2. Ars brevis
3. Ars generalis ultima.

4. Ars demonstrativa veritatis.
5. Ars altera demonstrativa veritatis.
6. Compendium artis demonstrativæ.
7. Lectura super artem demonstrativæ.
8. Liber correlativorum innatorum.
9. Ars inventiva veritatis.
10. Tabula generalis ad omnes scientias applicabilis.
11. Ars expositiva.
12. Ars compendiosa inveniendi veritatem.
13. Ars alia compendiosa.
14. Ars inquirendi particularia in universalibus.
15. Liber propositionum secundum, etc.
16. Liber de descensu intellectus.
17. Ars penultima.
18. Ars scientiæ generalis.
19. Lectura alia super artem inventivam veritatis.
20. De conditionibus artis inventivæ.
21. Liber de declaratione scientiæ inventivæ.
22. Practica brevis super artem brevem.
23. Liber de experientia realitatis artis.
24. Liber de mixtione principiorum.
25. Liber de formatione tabularum.
26. Lectura super tabulam generalem.
27. Practica brevis super ecamdem.
28. Lectura super tertiani figuram tabulæ generalis.
29. Liber facilis scientiæ.
30. De quæstionibus super eo motis.
31. Liber de significatione.
32. Liber magnus demonstrationus.
33. Liber de lumine.
34. Liber de inquisitione veri et boni in omnia materia.
35. Liber de punctis transcendentibus.

36. Ars intellectus.
37. De modo naturali intelligendi in omni scientia.
38. De inventione intellectus.
39. De refugio intellectus.
40. Ars voluntatis.
41. Ars amativa boni.
42. Ars alia amativa (it begins Ad recognoscendum).
43. Ars alia amativa (it begins Deus benedictus).
44. Ars memorativa.
45. De quæstionibus super ea motis.
46. Ars alia memorativa.
47. De principio, medio et fine.
48. De differentia, concordantia, et contrarietate.
49. De equalitate, majoritate, et minoritate.
50. De fine et majoritate.
51. Ars consilii.
52. Liber alius de consilio.
53. Liber de excusatione Raymundi.
54. Liber ad intelligendum doctores antiquos.
55. Ars infusa.
56. Art de fer y soltar questions (Catalan).
57. Fundamentum artis generalis.
58. Supplicatio Raymundi ad Parienses.
59. Liber ad memoriam confirmandam.
60. Liber de potentia objecta et actu.
61. Ars generalis rhythmica.

§ II. *Books on Grammar and Rhetoric.*

62. Ars grammaticæ speculativæ completissima.
63. Ars grammaticæ brevis.
64. Ars rhetoricæ.
65. Rhetorica Lulli.

§ III. *Books on Logic and Dialectics.*

66. Liber qui vocatur logica de Grozell (versu vulgari).
67. Logica parva.
68. Logica nova.
69. Dialecticam seu logicam novam.
70. Liber de novo modo demonstrandi.
71. Liber de fallaciis.
72. Logica alia de quinque arboribus.
73. Liber de subjecto et prædicato.
74. Liber de conversione subjecti et prædicati, etc.
75. Liber de syllogismis.
76. Liber de novis fallaciis.
77. Liber de modo naturali et syllogistico.
78. Liber de affirmatione et negatione et causa earum.
79. Liber de quinque prædicabilibus.
80. Liber qui dicitura fallacia Raymundi.

§ IV. *Books on Philosophy.*

81. Liber lamentationes duodecim princip. philosoph.
82. Liber de principiis philosophiæ.
83. Liber de ponderositate et levitate elementorum.
84. Liber de anima rationali.
85. Liber de reprobatione errorum Averrois.
86. Liber contra ponentes æternitatem mundi.
87. Liber de quæstionibus.
88. Liber de actibus potentiarum, etc.
89. Liber de anima vegetativa et sensitiva.
90. Physica nova.
91. De Natura.
92. Ars philosophiæ.

93. De consequentiis philosophiæ.
94. Liber de generatione et corruptione.
95. Liber degraduatione elementorum.
96. Liber super figura elementari.
97. Liber de qualitatibus, etc., elementorum.
98. Liber de olfactu.
99. Liber de possibili et impossibili.
100. Ars compendiosa principorium philosophiæ.
101. Liber de intensitate et extensitate.

§ V. *Books on Metaphysics.*

102. Metaphysica nova.
103. Liber de ente reali et rationis.
104. De proprietatibus rerum.
105. Liber de homine.
106. De magnitudine et parvitate hominis.

§ VI. *Books on Various Arts and Sciences.*

107. Ars politica.
108. Liber militiæ secularis.
109. Liber de militia clericali.
110. Ars de Cavalleria.
111. Tractatus de astronomia.
112. Ars astrologiæ.
113. Liber de planetis.
114. Geometria nova.
115. Geometria magna.
116. De quadrangulatura et triangulatura circuli.
117. Ars cognoscendi Deum per gratiam.
118. Ars arithmetica.
119. Ars divina.

§ VII. *Books on Medicine.*

120. Ars de principiis et gradibus medicinæ.
121. Liber de regionibus infirmitatis et sanitatis.
122. Liber de arte medicinæ compendiosa.
123. Liber de pulsibus et urinís.
124. Liber de aquis et oleis.
125. Liber de medicina theorica et practica.
126. Liber de instrumento intellectus in medicina.

§ VIII. *Books on Jurisprudence.*

127. Ars utriusque juris.
128. Ars juris particularis.
129. Ars principiorum juris.
130. Ars de jure.

§ IX. *Books of Devotion and Contemplation.*

131. Liber natalis pueri Jesu.
132. Liber de decem modis contemplandi Deum.
133. Liber de raptu.
134. Liber contemplationis in Deo.
135. *Liber Blancherna* (also written, Blanquerna).
136. Liber de orationibus et contemplationibus.
137. Liber de meditationibus, etc.
138. Liber de laudibus B. Virginis Mariæ.
139. Liber appelatus clericus sive pro clericis.
140. Phantasticum (an autobiography).
141. Liber de confessione.
142. Liber de orationibus.
143. Philosophia amoris.
144. Liber Proverbiorum.

145. Liber de centum nominibus Dei.
146. Orationes per regulas artis, etc.
147. Horæ Deiparæ Virginis, etc.
148. Elegiacus Virginis planctus.
149. Lamentatio, seu querimonia Raymundi.
150. Carmina Raymundi consolatoria.
151. Mille proverbia vulgaria.
152. Versus vulgares ad regem Balearium.
153. Tractatus vulgaris metricus septem articulos fidei demonstrans.
154. Liber continens confessionem.
155. Primum volumen contemplationum.
156. Secundum volumen contemplationum.
157. Tertium volumen contemplationum.
158. Quartem volumen contemplationum.
159. De centum signis Dei.
160. De centum dignitatibus Dei.
161. Liber de expositione rationis Dominicæ.
162. Liber alius de eodem.
163. Liber de Ave Maria.
164. Liber dictus, Parvum contemplatorium.
165. Liber de præceptis legis . . . et sacramentis, etc.
166. Liber de virtutibus et peccatis.
167. Liber de compendiosa contemplatione.
168. Liber Orationum.
169. Liber de Orationibus per decem regulas.
170. Liber de viis Paradisi et viis Inferni.
171. Liber de orationibus et contemplationibus.
172. Liber dictus, Opus bonum.
173. Liber de conscientia.
174. Liber de gaudiis Virginis.
175. Liber de septem horis officii Virginis.
176. Liber alius ejusdem argumenti.

177. Planctus dolorosus Dominæ nostræ, etc.
178. Ars philosophiæ desideratæ (ad suum filium).
179. Ars contitendi.
180. Liber de doctrina puerili.
181. Doctrina alia puerilis parva.
182. Liber de prima et secunda intentionibus.
183. Blancherna magnus.
184. Liber de placida visione.
185. Liber de consolatione eremitica.
186. Ars ut ad Deum cognoscendum, etc.
187. Liber ducentorum carminum.
188. Liber de vita divina.
189. Liber de definitionibus Dei.
190. Primo libre el desconsuelo de Ramon (Catalan).
191. Liber hymnorum.
192. Liber sex mille proverbiorum in omnia materia.

§ X. *Books of Sermons, or on Preaching.*

193. Ars prædicabilis.
194. Liber super quatuor sensus S. Scripturæ.
195. Ars prædicandi major.
196. Ars prædicandi minor.
197. Liber quinquaginta duorum sermonum, etc.
198. Commentaria in primordiale Evang. Joannis.

§ XI. *Books on Various Subjects* (*Libri Quodlibetales*).

199. Liber primæ et secundæ intentionis.
200. Liber de miraculis cœli et mundi.
201. Arbor scientiæ.
202. Liber quæstionum super artem, etc.

203. Liber de fine.
204. Consilium Raymundi.
205. Liber de acquisitione terræ sanctæ.
206. Liber de Anti-Christo.
207. Liber de mirabilibus orbis.
208. Liber de civitate mundi.
209. Liber variarum quæstionum.
210. Liber de gradu superlativo.
211. Liber de virtute veniali et mortali.

§ XII. *Books of Disputation and Controversy.*

212. Liber de gentili et tribus sapientibus.
213. Tractatus de articulis fidei.
214. De Deo ignoto et de mundo ignoto.
215. Liber de efficiente et effectu.
216. Disputatio Raymundi et Averroistæ de quinque quæstionibus.
217. Liber contradictiones inter Raymund et Averroistam, de mysterio trinitatis.
218. Liber alius de eodem.
219. Liber de forma Dei.
220. Liber utrum fidelis possit solvere objectiones, etc.
221. Liber disputationis intellectus et fidei.
222. Liber appellatus apostrophe.
223. Liber de demonstratione per æquiparantiam.
224. Liber de convenientia quam habent fides et intellectus.
225. Liber de iis quæ homo de Deo debet credere.
226. Liber de substantia et accidente.
227. Liber de Tinitate in Unitate.
228. Disputatio Raymundi Lulli et Homerii Saracení.
229. Disputatio quinque hominum sapientum.

230. Liber de existentia et agentia Dei contra Averroem.
231. Declaratio Raymundi Lulli, etc.
232. De significatione fidei et intellectus.
233. Ars theologi et philosophiæ contra Averroem.
234. Liber de spiritu sancto contra Græcos.
235. Quod in Deo non sint plures quam tres personæ.
236. De non multitudine esse divini.
237. Quid habeat homo credere.
238. De ente simpliciter per se contra Averrois.
239. De perversione entis removenda.
240. De minori loco ad majorem ad probandam Trinitatem.
241. De concordantia et contrarietate.
242. De probatione unitatis Dei, Trinitatis, etc.
243. De quæstione quadam valde alta et profunda.
244. Disputatio trium sapientum.
245. Liber de reprobatione errorem Averrois.
246. Liber de meliore lege.
247. Liber contra Judæos.
248. Liber de reformatione Hebraica.
249. Liber de participatione Christianorum et Saracenorum.
250. De adventu Messiæ contra Judæos.
251. Liber de vera credentia et falsa.
252. Liber de probatione articulorum fidei.
253. Disputatio Petri clerici et Raymund Phantastici.
254. Liber dictus, Domine quæ pars?
255. De probatione fidei Catholicæ.
256. Tractatus de modo convertendi infideles.
257. De duobus ætibus finalibus.

§ XIII. *Books on Theology.*

258. Liber quæst. super quatuor libros sententiarum.
259. Quæstiones magistri Thomæ, etc.
260. Liber de Deo.
261. Liber de ente simpliciter absoluto.
262. Liber de esse Dei.
263. Liber de principiis Theologiæ.
264. Liber de consequentiis Theologiæ.
265. De investigatione divinarum dignitatum.
266. Liber de Trinitate.
267. Liber de Trinitate trinissima.
268. De inventione Trinitatis.
269. De unitate et pluralitate Dei.
270. De investigatione vestigiorum, etc.
271. De divinis dignitatibus.
272. De propriis rationibus divinis.
273. De potestate divinarum rationum.
274. De infinitate divinarum dignitatum.
275. De actu majori, etc.
276. De definitionibus Dei.
277. De nomine Dei.
278. De (——?) Dei.
279. De natura Dei.
280. De vita Dei.
281. De est Dei.
282. De esse Dei.
283. De essentia et esse Dei.
284. De forma Dei.
285. De inventione Dei.
286. De memoria Dei.
287. De unitate Dei.

288. De voluntate Dei absoluta et ordinaria.
289. De potestate Dei.
290. De potestate pura.
291. De potestate Dei infinita et ordinaria.
292. De divina veritate.
293. De bonitate pura.
294. De productione divina.
295. De scientia perfecta.
296. De majori agentia Dei.
297. De infinito Esse.
298. De perfecto Esse.
299. De ente infinito.
300. De ente absoluto.
301. De objecto infinito.
302. De inveniendo Deo.
303. Liber de Deo.
304. De Deo majori et minori.
305. De Deo et mundo et convenienta eorum in Jesu Christo.
306. Liber de Deo et Jesu Christo.
307. De Incarnatione.
308. Liber ad intelligendam Deum.
309. Propter bene intelligere diligere et possificare.
310. De prædestinatione et libero arbitrio.
311. Liber alius de prædestinatione.
312. Liber de natura angelica.
313. Liber de locutione angelorum.
314. Liber de hierarchiis et ordinibus angelorum.
315. De angelis bonis et malis.
316. Liber de conceptu virginali.
317. Liber alius conceptu virginali.
318. Liber de creatione.
319. Liber de justitia Dei.

320. Liber de conceptione Virginis Mariæ.
321. Liber de angelis.

In addition to this long list of works on every conceivable science the author of the "Acta Sanctorum" gives a list of forty-one books on magic and alchemy wrongly attributed to Lull or published under his name by others of his age.

The following of Lull's works were *printed:*

Collected works of Lull, 10 vols. Salzinger, Mainz, 1721–42.
Collected works of Lull [?]. Rosselό, Palma, 1886.
Ars Magna generalis ultima. Majorca, 1647.
Arbor Scientiæ. Barcelona, 1582.
Liber Quæstionum super quatuor, etc. Lyons, 1451.
Quæstiones Magistri, etc. Lyons, 1451.
De articulis fidei, etc. Majorca, 1578.
Controversia cum Homerio Sarraceno. Valencia, 1510.
De demonstratione Trinitatis, etc. Valencia, 1510.
Libri duodecem princip., etc. Strasbourg, 1517.
Philosophiæ in Averrhoistas, etc. Paris, 1516.
Phantasticus. Paris, 1499.

Lull's Catalonian poetry and proverbs can be found in collections of Provence literature; see especially the life of Lull by Adolf Helfferich.

B. Books about Raymund Lull

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* [Encyclop. Brit., ninth edition, vol. xv., p. 63. McClintock and Strong's Cyclopedia, vol. v., p. 558. Church Histories. Short History of Missions by Dr. George Smith, etc.]

* Consulted in the preparation of this biography.

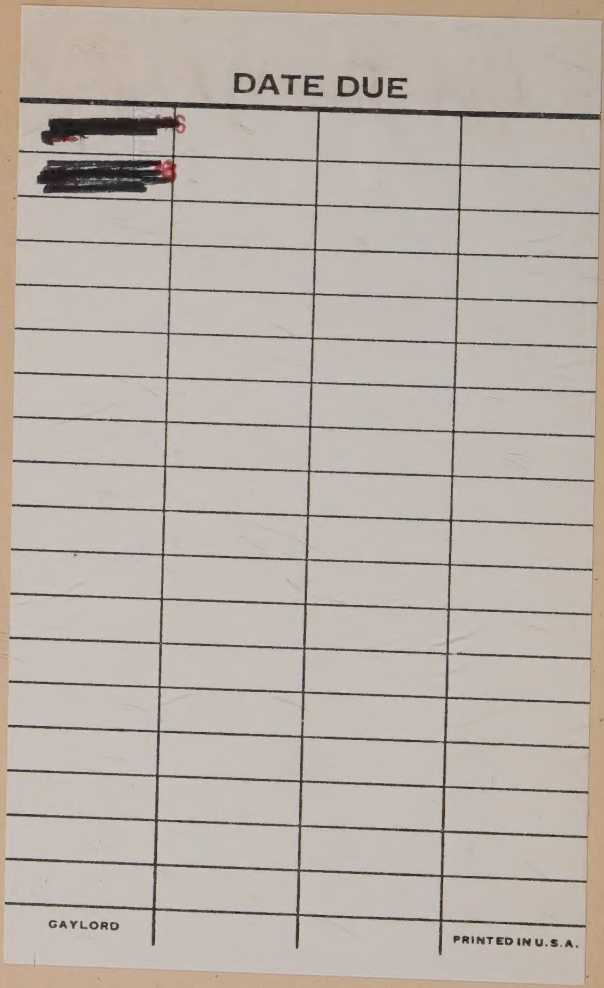
* "Acta Sanctorum," vol. xxvii., pp. 581–676, 1695–1867.†

* Consulted in the preparation of this biography.

† Translation of the titles of the chief articles on Raymund Lull in "Acta Sanctorum." (On character and origin of this stupendous work see McClintock and Strong, vol. i., p. 57):

1. Brief notice of the Saint.
2. The Cult sacred to Lull with ceremonies and mass.
3. The remarkable mausoleum, epitaphs, etc.
4. On those who wrote the Life of St. Raymund from an earlier one after the year 1400. (Waddington's is based on this, but it contains fables.)
5. Letters of Custererius proving authenticity of the old "Life."
6. On the lineage, birth, and wanderings of Lull up to the end of the Thirteenth Century.
7. Works and journeys of Lull in the Fourteenth Century, with a chronology.
8. On the office of Seneschal which Lull held.
9. Some difficulties met in the acts of Lull which must be reconciled by authors in the future.
10. On the money presented by R. Jacobus to the endowed missionary colleges which Lull founded and on leaves of the mastic tree marked with letters in Mt. Randa (Roda).
11. St. Raymund is shown to have investigated nothing by chemical experiment, *i.e.*, he was not an alchemist.
12. "Life Number One"—by an anonymous contemporary while Lull was still alive. From a manuscript.

13. "Life Number Two"—by Carolus Bovillus Samarobrinus. Edition Benedictus Gononus. Four chapters.
14. Eulogy of the divine Raymund Lull, Doctor Illuminatus and martyr, by Nicholas de Pax; from Complutensian edition, 1519.
15. Miracles selected from the ceremonies of canonization described in the Majorcan tongue and translated into Latin. Five chapters.
16. Historical dissertation on the orthodoxy and the books genuine and suppositious of St. Raymund by Joannis Baptistæ Sollerii.
17. Conclusion of the acts of Lull giving examples of his heroic courage by J. B. S.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